

1570

THE HISTORIE OF
Quintus Curtius, conteyning
the Actes of the greates
Alexander, translated
out of Latin into
Englishe by Iohn
James Brende. Longland
In ædibus Richardi Tottell.

Anno Domini.
1561.

Cum Privilegio.

To the right

hyghe and myghtye Prince, John Duke of

Northumberlande, Earle marshall of Englande,

et. John Bende which continuall

prosperitie, with encrease of
honour,

Jacobus, England me
possidet. Perid. 31 4

Engt. p. 10 Decembris
1503

Nanye haue wozitten, and experience besides
declarerh, how necessary historical knowlege
is to all kynde of men, but specially to princes
and to others which excel in dignitie or beare auctho-
rytpe in eny commune wealth: the same beyng coun-
ted the most excellent kynde of knowlege, the chiefest
parte of ciuyl prudence, and the myrrour of mans lyfe.
There is required in all magistrates both a faith and
feare in God, and also an outwarde policie in worldly
thynges, wherof as the one is to be learned by s-
criptures, so the other must chiefly be gathered by readyng
of histories. For in them men may see the groudes and
begynnynges of cominen wealthes, the causes of their
encrease, of their prosperous mayntenance, and good
preseruatioun: and againe by what meanes they decrea-
sed, decayed, and came to ruyne. There the vertues
and vices of men do appeare, howe by theyr good do-
ynges they flourished, & by their euil actes they decayed.
How they prospered so long, as they maintained iustice,
persecuted vice, vsed clemencie & mercie, were liberal,
religions, vertuous, and boyde of couetousnes. And
contrariwise, howe they fell into manifold calamities,
miseries, & troubles, when they embraced vice and for-
soke vertue. In histories it is apparant how dangerous
it is to begyn alteracyons in a comen wealth. How en-
A. 11. 20

uy & hatreds oft rising vpon smal causes, haue ben the
 destruction of great kyngdomes. And that disobeyers
 of hygher powers, & suche as rebellyd agaynst magy-
 strates, neuer escapyd punyshment, nor came to good
 end. In theym there be p[re]sidentys for all cases that
 may happen, in folowing the good, in eschuing the euil,
 in auoidyng inconueniences, & in forseyng mischiefes.
 In them may be learned how to temper in prosperitie,
 how to endure in aduersityte, & after what maner men
 shoulde vse them selues both in tyme of peace & warre.
 As in all artes there bee certeyne p[ri]nciples and rules
 for men to folowe, so in hystories there be ensamples
 paynted out of all kynde of vertues, wherin both the
 dignite of vertue, & foulness of vyce appeareth much
 more liuely then in any mo[re] all teachyng: there beyng
 exp[re]ssed by way of ensample, all that Philosophy doth
 teach by waye of p[re]cepts. Thys is iuche a kynde of
 knowlege, as maketh mē apt euen with smal experie[n]ce
 eyther to gouerne in publyke matters, or in their owne
 p[ri]uate affayres: for by cōparyng thinges past, w[ith]
 thynges p[re]sente, men maye easelye gather what is to
 be folowyd, and what is to be eschuyd. And he whyche
 can reade them w[ith] such iudgement, waityng y^e tymes
 w[ith] the causes and occasions of thynges, shall bothe
 see mo[st]e deepelye in all matters, best declare hys oppo-
 nion, & winne mo[st] estimation of p[ro]vidence & wisdom.
 For if aged men be estemyd for the w[is]est by reason of
 their experie[n]ce: Or if Homer painted forth in y^e person
 of Ulysses, the ymage of a p[er]fyt wise man: imputing
 the cause therof to the knowlege he hadde gatheryd
 by traueleyng many countreies, & by beying and mac-
 kyng the customes and maners of dyuers nacions:
 Then such as be wel experte in hystories, and by the
 well

well applying of them, can take the due fruite pertain-
ing to the same: must nedes obteigne profoundnes of
iudgement, with a stable and grounded wisdom. For
in them men may beholde as it were before they eyes,
both the whole worlde, and the gouernment therof, with
the policies and lawes, the discipline customes & man-
ners of al people from the begynnynge. Thys is suche
a thyng, that who so euer is clerely voyde of it, though
he be endued with neuer so greate a wytte other wyse,
with such aptnes of nature, or other goodly vertues:
Yet when he shall haue to do in weyghtye affaires, he
shall fynde a certeine mayme and imperfection, not
onely in ciuill gouernment, but also in the matters per-
teining to the warre.

For although in an excellent capitaine nature must
geue the chiefest partes, that is to say, hardines, stout-
nes of stomacke, with a natural wisdom and vnder-
standing: by which qualities onely experience therun-
to adioyned) diuers haue become famous capitaines:

Yet thys is a thyng that geueth a greter policie,
groundeth a deaper Iudgemente, addeth a further or-
nament and glozy, and formeth a perfittnes & an excel-
lencie in a shorter space. The shortnes of a mans lyfe
shortened besides by so manye casualties, is the cause
that men be taken awaye before they canne get suche an
actual experience as may make them perfite, and com-
monly become rotten, before they canne attayne to a
typpenes in knowledge. But by thys kynd of learnynge
in youth a man is become aged, he hath knowledge
withouth experience, he is wyse before it is loked for,
he is become a counsaylour the first houre, and a man
of warre the fyrste daye. The same thyng hath bene
verified in manye, whych in young age haue bene pru-
dente

dente counsellours, and in small experience politique capitaines. Alexander hereof is an euidente ensample, who broughte vp vnder Aristotle in learnynge, and so geuen to this kynde of studie, that he had Homer alwayes laied vnder his beddes hed (wherby he myght be admonished of the vertues and offyce of an excellent Prince) entred into his kingdome when he was but xx. yerres of age: and neuerthelesse bothe established his owne estate with such prudence, that within short space (besides the enlargynge of his owne boundes) he subdued the greatest parte of the worlde. And at beitt he began so yong, and continued so smale tyme: yet no mans actes be comparable to his: beinge counted the most excellent captayne from the begynnyng. But if eny man wyl impute the greatnes of his doomynges to the perfyite disciplyne the Macedons vied in the warres, and to the politique Capitaines, and expert souldiers, leitt to hym by hys father Philip: it shal appere euidently by the decaye of realmes when they haue bene gouerned by imprudent Princes, and by the ouerthrowes the Romaines receyued when they were conducted by euyl Capitaines, that no prudence of counsellours can take place, nor eny discipline or experience of the souldiers can auayle, if the heade be not a man of excellēt vertue. There is nothing new vnder the Sunne (as the wise man saith) and it is impossible for any thing to chaunce either in the war or in cōmon policie, but that the like maye be founde to haue chaunced in times past. All which thinges laied vp in memorie, as in a place of store: mē may alwaies be furnished for all chaunces that maye occurre. Seing histories be then so good and necessarie, it were muche requisite for mens instruccyon, that they were

translated

The Preface

translated into suche tounge as most men myght vnderstand them: and specially the histories of antiquitie, which both for the greatnes of the actes done in those daies, and for the excellencie of the writers, haue much maiestie and many ensamples of vertue. I therfore hauyng al wayes desired that we englyshmen myght be founde as forwarde in that behalfe as other nations, which haue brought all worthe histories into their naturall language, did a fewe yeares past attempte the translation of Quintus Curtius, and lately vpon an occasion performed and accomplished the same. Whych auctour treating of the actes of y^e great Alexander, being figured in the Prophetes, Ieremie & Daniel, and mentioned in the first booke of y^e Machabies, seme to haue bene borne, and brought forth into the world, not without a moste speciall prouidence and predestinacion of god: who prospered so his proceedinges that (as Iustine writeth) he neuer encountred with eny enemies whom he ouercame not, he besetged no cite that he wanne not, nor assailed natyon that he subdued not. Thys so worthe a matter I thought good to dedicate vnto youre grace, folowynge theyr ensample that haue traueyled in the like studyes, which are wonte to declare theyr good wylls, by bestowing of their labours.

Therunto I was also moued y^e rather, by considerynge y^e qualities of your grace, which seme to haue certeyne afinitie and resemblaunce wyth such as were the very vertues in Alexander. For Arianus writeth of hym y^e he was of a semelie stature, bolde in hys enterpryses, stowte of stomack, moderate in pleasures, wise in counsaile, and prouident to foresee thynges. That he was excellent in conductyng of an armie, moste pollitique in orderynge hys battailes, that he could encourage his
souldiers

The Preface

souldiers wyth apt wordes, and when neade requyred
take part of their peryll, What partes of this be in your
grace, let them iudge that haue knowen your actes in
the warres, and your excellent seruice done, both in the
time of the kinges maiestie that now is, and also in
his fathers dayes of most famous memozye. Al-
though in doyng hereof I haue not parauen-
ture satisfied al mens expectacyons: yet my
trust is, that your grace will accept the
same in good part, and consider that
in a translation a man can not
alwayes ble his owne beine,
but shalbe cōpelled to tread
in the authoꝝs steppis
Whiche is harder,
and a moze dif-
ficulte
thinge to do, then to
walke his owne
pace.

(:)

The first boke of fol. i.

Quintus Curtius supplied, of the Actes
of the great Alexandre, kyng
of Macedon.

(.:.)



Philip of Macedon which by subdu-
ing of Greece, dyd fyrste bring hys
countreie in reputation, was the
sonne of Amyntas: a man endued
with wisedome, hardinesse, and all
other vertues of a noble capitayne.

Amyntas
king of Ma-
cedon.

The same Amyntas had by Euri-
dice

Euridice.

hys wyfe, thre sonnes: Alexandre, Perdicas, and
Philyp, who was the father of greate Alexandre: with
a daughter also called Euriones. The Queene Eu-
ridice beyng in amours with one that had married her
daughter, conspired the death of the king her husband,
to thynntent to haue married with her sonne in lawe, and
to make hym kyng: whiche thynge she hadde broughte
to effecte, had not the treason and whozedome of the
mother, bene opened by the daughter in tyme. After
the deathe of Amyntas, Alexandre the eldest sonne
enioyed hys fathers kyngdome: whiche in the begyn-
nyng of his reygne was so assayled on all sydes, that
he was driuen of force to purchase peace of the Illi-
rians with money, by geuyng hys brother Philyp ho-
stage. And afterwardes by the same pledge, made a
lyke peace with the Thebans, beyng the occasion that
Philyp dyd attayne to suche excellencye of knowledge
and wisedome. For by reason that he was commit-
ted to the custodie of Epamynondas, who was a vali-

Alexandre
the sonne of
Amyntas.

Epamynon-
das.

B. j.

aunte

aunte capitayne and an excellent philosopher. He was broughte vp in the trade of honeste dysciplynes, and princelye maners, greatlye profitinge vnder a philosopher of Pythagoras schole, whom Epaminundas kept in hys house for the instruction of hys sonne. In the meane season Alexandre was slayne by the meanes of Euridice hys mother, whose former treason kynge Amintas her husbände hadde pardoned in respecte of the childe had betwene them. lyttle thinkynge that she woulde afterwarde haue been their destruction. For when Alexandre was dead, she caused in lyke maner her other sonne Perdicas to be slayne: whiche Perdicas left behinde hym one sonne being a young babe. About the same tyme Philip the youngest brother, being by good happe escaped out of prisō, returned into Macedon, and not taking vpon hym the name of kyng, remained a greāt whyle no otherwise but as Gouernour or Tutor to his yong newew. Neuertheles, afterwarde by occasion of sundry mischiefes growyng in the state, the same being such as might not well hang til the yong king should come to his age: for that he appeared to be a manne of synguler actiuitie, and of no lesse skylls in feates of warre, then in knowledge of philosophie, was compelled by the people to take vpon hym to be king of Macedon, whiche as then stode in harde plyghte, and greāt daunger of ruine. This was done. 400. yere after the buildinge of Rome, and the. 105. Olympiade. In the begynning of his reygne he was combred with manie troubles: for al the countreis neare about (as it were by a generall conspiracy) moued warre agaynst hym, and at one tyme sondrye nacions swarmed together out of sondrye partes to ouerronne his kingdome. Wherfore considering that it stode hym vpon to worke warrely (not being able to matche them all at once) pacified

Perdicas.

Philip.

cified some with fayre promyes, other with moneye,
& the weakest he withstode with force. By that menes
he both made his enemies astrayde, and confirmed the
hartes of his people, which he founde discouraged, and
soze amaled. These thynges he wrought with greate
sleyghte and fynesse of wytte, in such sorte that he mi-
nished not anye parte of his honoure, estate, or reputa-
cion, determining neuerthele as tyme shoulde serue,
to deale with euerye one aparte. Hys fyrste warre was
with the Atheniens whome he ouercame by sleyghte
and policy. And where it lay in hys power to haue put
them all to the sworde, he let them all at libertie with-
out raunsome. By whiche pointe of clemencie (though
it was but counterfayte, being done for feare of a grea-
ter warre at hande) yet it gate him great good will and
estimacion vniuersallye. After that he subdued the Pe-
ons, and from thence turned his power agaynste the
Illirians, of whome he slewe manye thousandes, and
wanne the noble Citie of Larissa. That done he mo-
ued warre against the Thessaliens, not for anye desyre
of their goodes, or spoyle of theyr countrey, but of a po-
hce to adde to hys strength the force of theyr horseme,
whiche at those dayes were counted the chiefest of the
worlde. This his purpose he brought well to passe: for
being sodeinly assailed, they were sone brought to sub-
jection. So Philip ioyned the force of theyr horsemen
vnto hys footemen, wherby he made hys power inui-
cible. After all these thinges happelye brought to passe,
he tooke to wyie Olympias, one of the Daughters of
Neoptolemus kyng of the Molossions. That ma-
riage was concluded by the means of Arisba, who
hadde the gouernemente of Olympias, by marryng
of her other syster called Troada. This maryage
which he thought to haue made for hys suerite, turned

Philip's
warre was
with the A-
theniens.

Peons
Illirians.

Thessalian

Olympias
Philip's
wyfe.
Arisba.

Troada.

Philippus
came.

Bethzon

Dagus.

Triballes.

the birth of
Alexandre.

afterwardes to his subuersion. For thinkyng to haue made hym selfe strong by thaffinitie of Philip, he was at length by him depriued of the whole kingdome, & ended his lyfe miserably in exyle. Not long after this marriage, kyng Philip dreamed that he sawe his wyues wombe wonderfully swollen, and to his seming, a liuely Image of a lyon therupon: by whiche dreame the diuyners & dreame readers dyd enterpze that hys wyfe was cōceiued of a childe, that should be of a lyons herte and courage: which interpretacion pleased him muche. Afterwardes at the assaulte of a citie called Bethzon, by shotte of an arrowe he loste his righte eye. Whereof though the dyspleasure was greate, yet was he content vpon theyr submissiō, to take them to mercy. He wanne also the citie of Dagus, and annexed the same vnto his kingdome. He invaded the lande of the Triballes, and at one instant conquered it, with all the countreis therabout. Thus hauing made hys kingdome strong by subduyng hys neyghbours: at his retourne home, hys wyfe Olympias was deliuered of hys sonne Alexandre the .8. daye of Apryll. Of these good fortunes the kyng reioysed no lesse then reason was, hauing stablished his cōtrey at home, subdued his enemies abrode, and gotten an heyre to succede in hys kyngdome. He coulde haue desyred no moze of God, if the mynde of man coulde euer be satysfied, whiche the moze it hathe the moze it coueteth. As dominion encreaseeth, so doeth also the desyre to haue moze: whiche was well seene in Philip, that styll did compasse howe to growe great by taking from his neyghbours, and laye alwaies lyke a spy, a wayting tyme and occasion, how to catche fro euerie man. Whereunto he had occasion ministred by the Cities of Greece: for whyles one dyd couet to subdue an other, and through ambition were at strife who should

The second boke of fo. 7.

Quintus Curtius supplied, of the actes
of Alexandre the great, kyng
of Macedon.

(..)



When Philip was dead: his sonne, whiche
for the greatnes of hys actes was after-
wardes called the greate Alexandre, toke
bpō him the kingdome the. 426. yere after
h building of Rome, being of h age of. 20.

Alexandre
toke vpon
him as king
the. 10. yere
of his age.

yeres. His state stode at that time subiecte to muche en-
uy, hatred & halard from ail partes. For the nations &
prouinces bordering bpō him, could not well bere their
p̄sent bondage, & euery one of the sought how to reco-
uer agayne theyr auncient dominion and enheritance.
The fyrste thinge he attempted after he was kyng,
was the grieuous execucion vpon so manye as hadde
conspyred hys fathers deathe: whiche done, he celebra-
ted hys funeralles with great pompe. Concerning his
estate he sone establisshed it, and that muche better then
any man coulde haue ymagined, in one of so yong and
tender yeares. For beyng of some had in contempte
and of some suspected to bee cruell: towarde the one
he bare himselfe so stoutely, that he tooke from them all
contempte: and to the other so gentilly, that theyr yma-
gined feare of hys cruell dysposicion was cleane taken
away. He graunted vnto the Macedons fredome, and
priuilege, from all exactions and bondage, sauing frō
the seruice of warre: by whiche acte he gat so great fa-
uour and loue emonges his people, that all affyrmed
by one consente, howe the persone of their kyng was
chaunged and not hys vertue, hys name was altered,
but

Corinthe.

Alexandre e-
lected Cap-
tayne generall
agaynst the
Persians.

Demosthe-
nes.

but not his good gouernement. In the begynnyng of
hys reygne, rebellion was made agaynste hym on all
sydes, but he by & by with an incredible stoutnes & con-
stancy of mynd, stayed all their tumultes. That matter
pacified and set in ordze, he went to Corynthe in Delo-
pouise, where callinge a generall Counsell of all the
states of Greece, was elected theyr generall Capitayne
agaynste the Persians, whiche before tyme had afflic-
ted Greece with many plagues, and at that present pos-
sessed the greatest Empire in the world. His father had
purposed that warre before, but the pzeuention of death
was the cause he broughte not hys purpose to passe.
Whyles he was in pzeparacion of thys enterpryse, he
was enscourmed howe the Atheniens, the Thebans,
and Lacedemonians, were revolted from hym, and
confederate with the Persians, and all by meanes of
an Oratour called Demosthenes, which was corrup-
ted by them with a greate somme of money. For the re-
formacion wherof, Alexandre so sodaynely had pze-
pared an army, that when he came vpon them, they could
scarcelye beleue he shoulde be pze sente, of whose com-
ming they had not hearde before. In hys waye he pze-
sented with the Thebalyans, and bled to theym suche
gentle wordes and apte perswasions, by putting them
in remembraunce of hys fathers benefites, and of the
auncient kynred betwene them by their dyscende from
Hercules: that he broughte them to the poynte, by an v-
niuersall decree of the whole countreye, to be created
theyr gouernour. So great was the celeritie that thys
young man bled, & his diligence so effectuell in all hys
doynge, that he made all such feare him, as before wer
revolted, and regarded hym litle. As the Atheniens
wer first & failed, so they first of all repented, extolling
with

with prayles Alexandres chyldehode, whiche befoze they had despyled, aboue the vertue of the auncient conquerours. They also sent Embassadours to requyre of hym peace, whom he soze rebuked when they came to hys p[re]sence, but yet was content at lengthe to remytte theyr offence. And although Demosthenes was chosen one of the Embassadours, yet he came not in hys syghte, but in hys waye retourned agayne to Athens. Whiche hys doyng, was eyther for feare that he had so often rayled agaynst Philip, and stirred the Athenians agaynst him: or elles to take awaye the suspicion of hym selfe from the kynge of Persie, of whome (it was sayde) he had receyued a great somme of golde to stande agaynst the Macedons. The same thyng was layed agaynst hym by Alcibiades in an Oration, where he sayeth: presentelye the kynges golde dooeth beare hys charges, but that can not laste hym longe, seyng no richesse can suffyce hys prodigall liuyng.

When Alexandre had pacified those sturres that were begunne in Grece, befoze he woulde passe hys armye into Asia, he made a iourney agaynst the Beones, the Triballes, & Thyllirians, because he vnderstode they were conspyring together. And for that they borderyd vppon hys countrey, and were wonte to inuade the same vpon euerye occasion, thought to set staye amonges them, befoze he woulde remoue his power so farre of. From the Citie of Amphipolis therfore he sette forwarde agaynst the Thracians, whiche at that tyme were not vnder the rule or lawe of anye man. In tenne dayes he came to the mount Hemus: in the toppe wherof he found them encamped, with a power to resyst hys passage. In steade of trenches, they hadde empaled themselves with theyr cariages vnder the streyghtes, purpos-

Alcibiades.

Amphipolis.

Mount Hemus.

purposyng there to withstande him. And if they should be muaded by anye other waye then by the streightes, they dyd determine to roulle theyr cariages downe the hyll vpon the Macedons, to breake theyr araye. That deuyle was put in execucion, but the souldiers had receyued before instructions by Alexandre, as occasyon shoulde serue, eyther to open their arraye to lette the cartes and wheles passe thzough them, or elles to falle flat vpon the ground, & by coueryng theyr bodies with their targettes, auoyde the dāger. They vsed the matter accordyng to theyr instructions, & when the cartes were passed by, they with a courage and crye mounted by against their enemies, and in a moment put them to flight. When Alexandre was passed the mountayne, he entred into the countreie of the Tryballes as farre as the riuer of Ligeus. When Syrmus king of that land vnderstode of hys coming, he sente his wyfe and his children with suche of his people, as were not mete for the warres, into an Iland called Deuca, situate within the riuer of Danubye, into which Ilande, the Thracians bordering with the Triballes were fledde also. It was not longe after that Syrmus hymselfe fledde thither lykewyse: the reste of the Triballes that were not with the kyng withdrawing into an other Iland, where they kepte themselves agaynst Alexandre. But he by policie found the meanes to drawe them oute of theyr strength, whereby he slewe of them the numbze of thzee thousande, and the reste fledde awaye, so that of prisoners there were fewe taken. After thys battayle he marched towardes the Riuer of Danubye, to the Iland where the Thracians and the other Triballes were fledde. They made notable resistaunce against hym, which they might the better doe, by reason that

Syrmus
king of the
Triballes.

Deuca.

that Alexander wanted boates to passe into the Island, the bankes wherof were so high and steepe, that they coulde not be mounted vpon, but wpyth greate difficultie, the riuer besides runnyng so swyfte by reason that the streame was there driuen into a straight. When Alexander perceiued the impossibilitie to assaile them, he withdrew to an other place, where getting a few boates passed the Riuer in the night, to the number of 1500. horsen, and 4000. fotemen. With that companie he set vpon a people called Getes, that stode ready in battail on the further syde with 4000. horsen and .x. M. fotemen, of purpose to stoppe the Macedons passage. But by their sodaine comming ouer, the Getes were so afrayed, that they did not abyde the first onset. It semed to them a matter of wonderful aduenture, for Alexander in one nyght without a bydge, to passe hys power ouer the broadest and deapest riuer of all Europe. Thys matter strake suche feare in them, that they fledde into the woodes and desert places, leauyng their cite desolate, whiche was taken by Alexander & ouerthrowen. Syrmus kynge of the Triballes, wpyth the Germanes, and thother inhabitours vpon Danubie, sent embassadours thither vnto Alexander, to enter with hym in frendshyp and amitie. And he condescendynge to theyr requestes, enquired of the Germanes what thing it was in the world that they doubted most: thinking in dede that the terrour of hys name hadde bene the most fearfullest thing vnto the. But when they vnderstode hys meanyng, they answered: that they doubted greatly of falling of the skye. wpyth whose presumptuous answer Alexander was nothing moued, nor further replied, sauyng onely he saide: the Germanes were a proud people, and therupon dismyssed them. As

grians.

Clitus Bar-

deleius.

Glaucias

king of

Chaulantes.

Lagarus.

Anterians.

Cyna.

The Grekes
rebelled.The spege of
Thebes.

he was goyng from thence againste the Agrians and the Beans, he was aduertised that Clitus Bardeleius had rebelled, and was confederate with Glaucias the kyng of the Chaulantes, he had also intelligence, that the people of Anteria would geue him battaile in hys pailage. Wherefore he committed to Lagarus kyng of the Agrians (whiche was well beloued of king Philip and no lesse in his sauour) the charge to go against the Anterians, and promysed him vpo his returne to geue him his sister Cyna in mariage. And Alexander hym selfe with great celeritie, went agaynst Clitus & Glaucias, whom in sondrye battailes he ouercame and put to flyght. Whyles Alexander was about these thinges he receiued aduertisement, that diuers cities in Greece, and specially the Thebans, hadde rebelled, whiche thing moued him muche, and was the cause that he returned with speede to oppresse that commotion. The Thebanes in this meane season besieged the Castle of Thebes, wherein was a guarison of Macedoncs, and went about by al meanes to winne it. Alexander came by great iourneies to their rescue, and encamped with his hoste neare to the citie. Suche as bare rule emonges the Thebanes when they sawe hym come, contrarye to that they looked for, and doubtyng whether suche ayde shoulde come to them from other cityes as was promysed, began to consult howe to procede. At length by a generall consent, they determined to abide the aduenture and extremitie of the warre. The kyng in the meane season stode at a skape, geuing them space to bee better aduised and chaunge purpose, for he was of opinion, that no one Citie would euer haue made resistance against so great a power as he had, being aboue xxx. thousand fote men, and thye thousand horsemen, all olde

olde souldiours, and expert in the trauailes of warre. The truste of their manhode and valiauntnes, hadde caused hym to vndertake the warres against the Persians. Truly if the Thebans had geuen place to fortune, and to the tyme, and woulde haue required peace they myghte easlye haue obtayned it: his desyre was so great to passe into Asia against the Persians. But the Thebans that were determined to trie their force, and not to make eny lute, fought againste the Macedons, farre exceedyng them in numbze, obstinately, and with great manhode: But whyles the battailes were ioining, the guarison of the castle issued out vpon the Thebans backes, wherby being enclosed, they were vanquished, their cite taken, spoyled, and utterly rased. Which extremitie Alexander vied of purpose, because he thought the rest of the Grecians affraid by theyr exaple, woulde beethe more quiet, while he shoulde be in the warres of Asia. To gratiue the Phocians and Plateans hys confederates, whiche brought manye accusatyons agaynst the Thebans, he slew of them sixe thousand, & solde thirtie thousande as slaues: the money therof comyng, amounteth to the summe of foure hundred and fortye talentes. Yet he spared al the linage of Pindarus the Poete, wherby he woulde witnes vnto the worlde, the fauour he dyd beate vnto learned men. In this cite of Thebes was a notable woman called Timoclea, whome when a Capitayne of Thrace dyd rauishe, and woulde haue entozed her to confesse her money: She brought hym to a well, wher (she sayd) al her precious geare was hidde. And whyles he stouped downe to loke into the well, she thruste hym in, & threwe stones after, wherby he was slaine.

For this fact he being committed to prison, and after-

The destruction
tion of Thebes.

Pindarus
the Poet.

Timoclea.

wardes brought befoze Alexander: he asked her what she was, she answered without fear that she was sister to Theogenes which being elected generall capitaine, against king Philippe his father, manfully dyed for the libertie of Grece. At whose stowtnes and cōstancy, the kyng maruelled so much, & he caused her with her chyl- dzen to be set at libertie. The Athenians had so great pitie & compassion of the estate of the Thebanes, & con- trary to the cōmaundement of Alexander, they receiued into their citie such of the as escaped. whiche thing Al- lexāder toke in suche displeasure, & when they sent Em- bassadours the secōd tyme to demaund peace, he would not graunte atonement vpon eny other condition, but & such Oratours and captaines which had stirred them to rebellion, should be deliuered vnto hys handes. But at length the matter was brought to that point that the Oratours were reserued, and the captaines banished, which straight fled to Darius kyng of Perse. At suche tyme as Alexander assembled the Grecians in Athens for the determination of his iourney into Perse, many Oratours & Philosophers came to visite him, only Di- ogenes that remained aboute Corinth, kept hym selfe awaye, as one that esteemed Alexander nothyng at all. wherat he maruelled much, and went to visit him, wher he was beking of him self in & lūme. He asked Dioge- nes if he had nede of eny thinge he might do. To whō Diogenes neither gaue reuerēce nor thanks, but wil- led him to stand out of hys lūne shine. In whose beha- uour & words, Alexander toke so great delite, & turnig to those & were with him, said: if he were not Alexander, he would wysh to be Diogenes. when he had put in order thaffaires of Grece, committing & rule therof together with the realme of Macedon, to the gouernement of Antipater,

Diogenes.

Antipater, whom he most trusted, in the beginning of the spring came to Hellespont with his whole army, which he transported into Asia, with incredible speed & diligence. When they were come to the further shore, Alexander threw a dart to the enemies lande, and as he was armed, leaped out of the shippe with greate gladnes, and there sacrificed, making petition vnto the Goddes, that they would vouchsafe to admitte hym kynge of that land. From thence he marched towardes his enemies, and forbade his souldyours to make enye spoyle vpon the countrey, perswadyng them to spare that was their owne, and that they shoulde not destroy the thing, whiche they came to possesse. He had not in his armye aboue the numbze of .xxxii. M. footemen, and v. M. horsemen, and but .clxxx. shippes: wherfore it is harde to iudge whether it bee moze wonderfull that he conquered the worlde, or that he durst attempt the conquest therof with so small a power. He chose not out to suche a dangerous enterprise, the young men whiche were in the first flower of their age, but the olde souldyours, of whom the moze parte for their long cōtinuance in warres, were by the custome at libertye, and fre fro the warres, sayng at theyr owne pleasure. And there was no capytayne nor eny other, that bare office in hys armye, vnder the age of .lx. yeres. So that the souldyours for their experience, seemed to be scholemasters of the warres, and the capitaynes for their grautie appeared to bee Senatours in some auncyent commune wealthe. That was the cause that in the fyghte none of them mynded eny slepyng, but euery one conceyued the victorie in his heade, nor eny put truste in hys fete, but in hys handes. Alexander that euery where made sacrifice, did vse most solempnitie at Troy vpon Achilles

Antipater
HellespontThe numb
of Alexander
army.

Hilles

Homer.

Darius king
of Persie.

Troye.

Propontides

The battel
vpon the ry-
uer of Gra-
nus.

tombe, of whom he was dyscended by hys mothers
 syde. He iudged hym moſte happye of all men before
 him, becauſe in ſuche glozpe he dyed younge, and hadde
 hys actes ſet forth of ſuche one as Homer was. From
 thence he paſſed forwardeſ into the dominions of Da-
 rius kyng of Perſe, whiche beyng the ſonne of Arſa-
 nus, and the fourtene kyng after Cyruſ, had gotten
 the poſſeſſion of the Monarchie of the whole eaſte
 parte of the worlde. The chiefeſt cauſe that moued A-
 lexander to inuade him, was to be reuenged of the do-
 mages and deſtructions, wherwyth his predeceſſours
 had afflicted the countrey of Greece, and alſo for de-
 maunding tribute of Philip hys father, for the whiche
 he ſent a proud and preſumptuous embaſſeate, callinge
 him ſelfe the king of kynges, and kinſman of the Gods.
 Laſtly he had writtē to Alexander, & called him his ſer-
 uante, and gaue commiſſyon to hys Lieutenantes,
 that they ſhoulde beate that madde hope the ſonne of
 Philip with roddeſ, and afterwardeſ bring him to his
 preſence in kynges apparatle. And furthermoze that
 they ſhoulde drowne both ſhyppes and mariners, & con-
 uey all the ſouldiours that ſhould be left on liue, beyond
 the redde ſeas. They therfore purpoſing to execute the
 kynges commaundement, aſſembled their power at the
 riuer of Granike, which doth diuide the countrey of
 Troye from Propontides, hauyng to the number of xx
 M. ſotemen, and as many horſemen, wyth whom they
 had taken the ground on the further ſyde of the ryuer,
 where Alexander muſt nedes paſſe ouer. Whereof when
 he was aduertized, though he ſawe preſent peryll in the
 enterprize to fight in the water, and the ouer, from the
 lower ground, againſt his enemies, whiche had the ad-
 uantage of the higher banke, yet vpon a ſingular truſt

of

of his owne good fortune, & the valiantnes of hys sol-
diours, attempted the matter. At the firste he was sore
encountred, and putte in greate halsarde of repulse, but
a lengthe he vanquished and ouerthrewe his enemies.
In doyng wherof, there neither wanted polycie in hym
selfe, nor yet synguler manhode in hys menne. There
was slayne in that battayle of the Persians. xx. M. fote-
men, with. ccl. horsmen, and of the Macedons but.
xxxiii. This victorie was greatly effectuell to Alex-
anders purpose, for therby he wanne the city of Sar-
des, beyng the chiefe strength the Persians had for the
maisteryng of the seas, vnto the which citye and to all
the rest of the countrey of Lidia, he gaue lybertye to
liue vnder theyr owne lawes. He gote also into hys
possession the cite of Ephesos, by reason that the fourth
daye after the battaile, it was abandoned of the guar-
ison which Darius set there. In the meane season there
came Embassadours fro Magnesia, & from the Tral-
lians, profering the deliuey of their cities. Parmenyo
was sent to them with. iii. M. fotemen, and. CC. horse-
men with which power he wanne Miletum that stode
at defence, & marchyng from thence towarde Helicar-
nassus gote all the towne theraboutes at the first ap-
proche, and afterwarde belieged Helicarnassus it selfe,
which with great trauail he wan at length & rased it to y
ground. As Alexander entred into Caria, Ada the quene
of that countrey whiche had bene spoyled of all her do-
minion by Dantobates, Darius lieutenant (sayng
of one strong cite called Alinda) mette wyth Alexan-
der, and adopted hym for her Sonne and heire: He
woulde not refuse the name and the profer of her libe-
raltye, but did betake to her againe the custodie of her
owne city. And besides for y memozy of her beneuolence
putte the whole countrey of Caria vnder her rule and
C.iii. subiection.

Magnesia

Miletum
Helicarnassus.

Ada the
Quene of
Caria.
Dantobates

Alinda.

icia.
amphilia.

isidia.

hzigia.

Subiectyon. From thence he wente into Licia and
Pamphilia, to the entente that by getting the possessy-
on of the sea coastes of those countries, he myght cause
the sea power of Darius to stand to none effecte. When
he hadde once subdued the people of Disidia, he entred
into Phzigia, by the whiche countrey he was enforced
to passe, and marchyd towards Darius, with whō he
had great desire to encounter, hearyng sape that
he was commyng agaynst him with many
thousandes of men of
warre.

(r)

The thirde boke of

Fol. 132

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.



Alexander in the meane season hauyng sent Cleander, Cleander to wage men of warre out of Delo-
ponese, & establyshed the countreys of Lycia
and Pamphilia, remoued hys Armye to the
Citie of Celenas through thys Citie. Ther ran at the Celenas.
same tyme the Ryuer of Marcia, verie famous in the Marcia
Greek poesies: whose head springyng out of the top of
an highe mountayne, and fallyng downe vpon a rocke
beneth, made muche noyse & rozyng. It floweth from
thence, and watreth the fyeldes all about, without en-
crease of eny streame sauyng hys owne. The colour
wherof beyng like vnto the caulme sea, gaue occasyon
to the poetes to sayne, howe the Nymphes for the de-
lyghte they toke in that riuer, chace their dwelling vn-
der that rocke. So long as it runneth within compas
of the walles it keapeth hys owne name, but when it
cometh without where the streame is more swifte and
beheement, it is then called Licum. Alexander did enter
into this towne, beyng forsaken of the inhabitauntes, Licum.
and perceuyng they were fled into the castle whiche he
determined to wynn before he departed, first sent to so-
mon them by an Heraulde, whych declared that excepte
they would yelde them selues, they shuld suffer the ex-
tremite of the lawe of Armes. They broughte the He-
raulde into an highe towre whiche was strong both by
nature and workmanship, willing him to consider the
thyng, and to declare vnto Alexander he wayed not
sufficiently the strengthe of the place, for they sayd they
knewe

knewe it to be unprenable, and if the worst should fall,
 yet wer they ready to dye in their truth and allegiance.
 Notwithstanding which wordes, when it came to the
 point that they saw the selues belleged, and all thinges
 ware scarce, they toke truce for .lx. daies, with this com-
 posicion, that if they wer not rescued by Darius with-
 in that time, they would rendre it vp into hys handes.
 Which they did after wardes at þ day appointed, when
 they sawe no succours comyng. To þ place there came
 Embassadors to him fro Athens, making request that
 suche of their citie as were taken prisoners at the bat-
 taile, fought vpon the riuer of Granike, myght be resto-
 red to the. To whom answer was made, that when þ
 warres of Perse were once broughte to an ende, bothe
 theirs & al other þ were Greeces should be restored to
 their libertie. Alexander had his present care & imagina-
 tion alwaies vpon Darius, who he knew not yet to be
 passed the riuer of Euphrates. He assembled therfore all
 his power together, purposing to aduecture the hazard
 of þ battaile. The countrey was called Phrygia that he
 passed through, plentifull of villages, but scarce of Ci-
 ties, yet there was one of great antiquitie called Goz-
 blis, the royall seate sometime of king Mydas. The riuer
 Sangarius doth run through it, & it standeth in myd
 way betwene the seas of Ponte & Cilicia: being iudged
 to be the narrowest parte of Asia, by reason of the seas
 which lye on both sydes, representing the fourme of an
 Island. And if it wer not for a small poynt of lande that
 doth lye betwixt those seas, they should ioyne bothe to-
 gethers. Alexander hauing brought this citie vnder his
 obeisance, entred into the temple of Jupiter, where he saw
 the wagon wherein Mydas the builder of þ citie was
 wont to ride. The same in the furniture & outward ap-
 pear-

Citie of Goz-
 blis.

pearance differed little from other comon wagons, but
 there was in it a thing notable, which was a rope sola
 ded and knit with many knots, one so wretched within
 an other, & no man could perceyue the maner of it, ney-
 ther where & knots began, nor where they ended. Here
 vpon & contrey men had a prophesy, & he should be lord
 of al Asia, & could vndo & endles knot. That was a mat-
 ter which put & king in a marueilous desyre to become
 the fulfiller of & prophesy. There stode a great nūbre as
 bout him both of Phrygians & Macedons, the one part
 of the musing to what cōclusiō this matter would come
 to, and the other fearing the rash presumption of the
 king, forasmuch as they could perceiue by no reaso how
 & knot should be vndone. The king himselte also doub-
 ting & the failing of hys purpose in that matter, myght
 be taken as a token of his euill fortune to come. After he
 had considered the thing: What matter maketh it (of
 he) which way it be vndone: and stryued no lenger how
 to vnknot it, but out of hande cutte with his sworde the
 cordes a sundre: therby either illudying, or els fulfillyng
 the effect of the prophesy. Whē this was done, Alexan-
 dre purposed to find out Darius wher elsouer he were,
 and to the intent he would leaue all thynges cleare be-
 hind his backe, made Amphitōrus capitaine of his na-
 vy vpon the coast of Hellespont, comittynge the charge
 of & men of war to Egilocus. They two had cōmission
 to deliuer the Ilandes of Lesbos, Scio, & Coos, froth
 the handes of the Persians. And for the furniture of
 their charges, appointed to them 1. talentes. And sente
 to Antipater and suche other as hadde the gouer-
 naunce of the Cities of Grece, thre & score talentes. He
 gaue ordre that such as were his confederates, shoulde
 with their owne power of shippes defende the seas of
 Helles-

Gordian
knot.to 1414 of 14
14141014 of 14
1414Amphitōrus,
Egilocus,
Lesbos,
Scio,
Coos.to 1414 of 14
1414

Ménon.

The Cytie of
Ancyre.Daphlago-
nya.Annoti-
on
of
the
men
of
warreThe numbre
of Darius
men of warre

Hellepont accordig to the league betwixt the. It was not yet come to his knowledge how Ménon was deade vpon whom he set hys whole regard, knowyng if that he moued not agaynst hym, no manne shoulde bee hys stoppe before he came to Darius. Alexander came too the citie of Ancyre wher he made his musters, and so entred into Daphlagonya, whereunto the Grecyans bee borderers, of whom (it is said) the Veneciās be dulcened. Al this countrey yealdyd vnto hym, and gaue him pledges, obteinyng to be free of tribute, seyng they neuer paid eny to the Persiās. Calas was capitaine ther, who taking with him the bande of souldiers that were lately come out of Macedon went vnto Cappadocia. But Darius hearing of the death of Ménon, was no les moued therwith then the case requyred, for then all other hope set apart, he determynd to trye the matter in parson. For he cōdemned all thinges that had bene done by hys deputies, hauing opinyō that good gouernment wanted in many of them, & that fortune had sayled in them all. He came therefore to Babilon, wher he encamped, assenblyng al his force to gethers in sighte, because he would shew the greater courage. And vsing the ensaile of Perres, in taking of hys musters, entrenches so much ground about, as was able to receyue .x. thousand men, within the which he lodged in the nyght such as had bene mustred in the day, and from thence they were bestowed abroade in the playne countrie of Mesopotanya. The numbze of his horsmē and footmen were innumerable, and yet seemed to the syghte to be moze then they were. There were of the Persyans an .C. thousand, of whom .xxx. thousand were horsmen. Of the Medians .x. thousand horsmen, and .xxx. thousand footmen. Of the Barmantes two thousand horsmen

men, with broad swordes and lygh: bucklers, and. x. M. footemen with lyke weapons. Ther were of the Armenians. xl. thousande footemen, & vii. thousand horslemen. The Hircanians of greate estimation emongest those nations, had. vi. thousande horslemen. The Deruiceng were. xl. thousand footemen armed with pykes, wherof part had no heads of Iron, but dyed the poyntes of the in the fier. There wer also of the same nacio. ii. M. horslemen. Ther came from the Caspian sea. viii. M. footemen & cc. horslemen, & with them of the rude nations of Asia, ii. M. footemen, and. iiii. M. horsmen. To the increase of these numbres there were. xxx. M. mercenarye souldiers that were Grekes. Haste would not suffer to call for the Bactrians, Sogdians, & Indians, with other the inhabiteres of the read sea: nations whiche had names scarcelye knowen to their owne kyng. Thus Darius waityng nothyng lesse then the multitude of me, greatly reioysed to behold the. And puffed vp with the vanitie, & flattery of the gret men which wer about him, turned to Charidemus of Athens an expert man of war (whiche for the displeasure that Alexandre did beate him, was banished his countrey) & asked him if he thought not the company sufficient to ouerthrowe the Macedons. Therunto Charidemus without respect of the lynges pride, or of his owne estate, answered: peradventure sir (quod he) ye wil not be content to heare the trueth, and excepte I tell it presently, it shalbe to late hereafter. This greate preparacion and huge army of yours, gathered of the multitude of so many nations, raised vp fro all parts of the orient, is more fearefull to the inhabiteres hereaboutes, then terrible to your enemies. your me shine in colours & glister in armure of gold: exceeding so much in riches, that they which haue not senethem with their eyes, can not

Charidemus
wordes vnto
Darius.

The Phalanx
of the Macedo-
nians.

not conceiue any such thing in their mindes. But contrariwise the Macedons being rough souldiers, withoute any such excesse be terrible to behold. The fronts of their battailes stand close together allwaies in strength, furnished with pikes & targets for defence. That which they call their Phalanx, is an immouable square of footemen, wherein every one stand close to other, tunning weapō to weapon. Every souldier is obedient to þ which is commaunded him, redy at his captains becke, whether it be to follow his ensigne, to kepe his aray, to stand still, to run, to fetch a compassse, to change the order of þ battail, to fight on this side or þ side: every souldier can do these thinges so well as the captains. And because you shal not think gold & siluer to be so effectual to this matter, they began and obserued this discipline, pouertie beyng maistres. When they be wery þ ground is their bed, they are satisfied with such meate as they find by chaunce, and they measure not their sleepe by the lengthe of the nyght. Thinke you the Thracians of Thessaly, the Acharnans and Etolians which be invincible men of warre, will be repulled with slinges, or staves hardened in the fyre. It behoueth you to haue a like force to repulse them, and to be serued of the same kynd of men. My counsel is therefore that you leaue this gold and siluer to wage souldiers oute of those countreyes from whence they come. Darius was a man of a meke and tractable disposition, if the height of his estate had not altered the goodnes of his nature: which made him so impatient to heare the truth, that he commaunded Charidemus to be put streyght waies to death: being a man that was fledde to his protection, and that gaue him ryght profitable counsell. When he was goyng towardes his death, he left not his libertie to speake, but said: there is one at hand that shal reuenge

my death. For he against whom I haue geuen the coun-
 sayle, shall punish the for not folowing of myne aduise.
 And thou being thus altered with the libertie thou hast
 being a king, shalt be an ensample to such as shal come
 after, that when meene committe theyr doynges to for-
 tune, they clearly forgeat themselves. Whiles Charide-
 mus was speaking these wordes, they whiche had the
 charge comitted vnto them, put hym to death, whercof
 afterwarde the kyng toke ouer late repentance, con-
 fessing hym to haue spoken the truth, & caused hym to be
 buried. There was one Thymones the sone of Mentor
 a yong man of great actiuite, to whom Darius gaue
 the charge of al the souldiers strangers (in whom he had
 great confidence) willing hym to receyue them at Phar-
 nabalus handes, and gaue to Pharnabalus the reule
 that Menon had before. Thus Darius being carefull
 of the busines he had in hand, whether it were thzough
 pensiuenes of mynd, or that his fanly dyd diuine thyn-
 ges to come, was continually troubled with visions in
 his slepe. He dreamed that the Macedons campe was
 all on fyre. And shortlyc after it semed to hym that Alex-
 andre was brought to hys pzeience in such kinde of ap-
 paraille as he himselfe did weare whē he was fyrst cho-
 sen kyng, & that Alexandre shoulde be caried on horse-
 backe thzough Babilon, and so banyshe out of syghte.
 Herupon thinterpretours of dreames with the diuersi-
 tie of theyr diuinyng, dyd dyue Darius into diuers y-
 maginations. Some sayd his dreame betokened good
 fortune to hymselfe, because of the fyre that seemed
 to bee in hys enemyes campe, and for that Alexandre
 withoute anye besture of a kyng, appeared in the vil-
 gare apparayle of the Persians. Other dyd enterprate
 it otherwoyle: that the lyghtenyng in the Mace-
 dons campe, signified gloze and victoꝝe to Alexan-
 dre

Thymones.

Darius
dreamed.

der, and also the enioyment of the empyze of Asya: which they made a clere matter, for as much as Alexandze appeared in the same vestures that Darius wore when he was chosen king. Care beydes a trouble of mynde (as it often chaunceth) brought thinges past agayne to remembraunce. It was reherſed how Darius in the beginning of his reign changed the ſcabard of his ſwoord fro the Perſian maner, into the faſhion that the Grekes vſed. Whereupon the Caldeis did prenoſticate that the kingdome of Perſie ſhoulde be translated to thoſe, whoſe faſhion he had counterfaiſted. Notwithſtanding through the confidence of ſuch prophecies as were commonly ſowen abroad, and of the viſiõ that he ſeemed to haue ſeene in hys ſleape, became very merue, and commaunded his armye to marche forwarde to the riuer of Euphrates. It was the auncient cuſtome amongeſte the Perſians, at the ſunne ryſing to rayle their campe, and warnyng of their ſettyng forwarde to be geuen by the blaſt of a trumpet, ſounded at the kynges pavilion: vpon the which there ſtoode an Image of the ſunne enclosed in chryſtall, ſhynyng ſo bright, that it might be ſene throughtout the cape. The ordre of their marching was in this maner. The fyre which they call holpe & eternal, was caried befoze vpon ſiluer aultares, and the prieſtes of their lawe went next ſinging after their countreie maner. There folowed .ccc. lxxv. young menne in ſcarlet robes, like in nombze vnto the daies of the yere. Then came the Chariot conſecrated to Iupiter drawn with white paſtreyes, a gret horſe folowing, which they call the horſe of the ſunne. Such as dyd ryde vpon the paſtreyes did weare white garmentes, bearyng roddeſ of golde in their handes. Next in ordre came .x. chariots garniſhed and wrought with ſiluer and golde. The

The ordre of
the Perſians
in their war-
ring.

The horsmen of twelue nations folowed next in son-
 drie sorte of armoure. Then came a company that the
 Persians call immortal, the riches of whose apparell,
 exceded farre & rest: they had al cheines of gold, coates
 embrodered with gold, & sleues set with Pearle. There
 folowed within a smale distance a band of .xv. thousand
 called Dozipheru, reputed for the kinges kinsme, which
 were disguised in maner like women, more notable for
 theyr galantnes and varietie of apparel, then for the ar-
 mour they dyd weare. Such as were wont to receyue
 the kynges robes, dyd ryde next befoze the chariot, vpon
 & which Darius did sit on high, with great pompe and
 magnificence: hys chariot beyng garnyshe on bothe
 sides with carued Images of their goddes made of sil-
 uer & gold. The Steame wherof was sette with pear-
 les and pzeuous stones, wyth two Images of golde
 standynge therupon of a cubite lengthe, combattat one
 agaynst the other, and ouer their heades an Eagle of
 golde displayed. But emonges all the reste the kynges
 apparayle shewed maruelous sumptuose, which was of
 purple empaled white, with a border embrodered of gold,
 faucons fightinge togethers. He was girt effeminately
 wyth a gyrdle of gold, and the sword that hong therup-
 on, had the scabard made of a pearle. The diademe the
 kyng ware vpon hys head, called of the Persians Cy-
 darys, had a roule about it of white and grene. Next
 behynde the kyng came .x. thousande horsmen, whiche
 had al their speares plated with siluer, and theyr speare
 heades gilded. He was enclosed on both sydes wyth .cc.
 of & bloud royal, at whose backes there folowed .xxx. In-
 fantenien, and after them, cccc. of the kynges courlers.
 Within the distance of one furlonge Sifigambis the
 mother of Darius was carped in a wagon, and hys

Sifigambis
 Darius ma-
 ther.

wyse in an other: the frame of their women ridynge on
 horsebacke. Next them went .xv. wagons, wherin y kin-
 ges children were caried, their nurses and Eunuches,
 which are greatly esteemed in y countrey. And after the
 folowed .ccc. lx. of the kynges concubines all apparel-
 led like Quenes. Then came .vi. c. mules and .ccc. Ca-
 mels that caried the kynges treasure, garded with a
 band of Archers. The wiues of the kynges kynsmen,
 and the other that were about the kyng, came ridynge
 next, and after them a great compaigne of slaues and
 berlets. Laste came the rereward lightly armed, wher-
 of euery capitayne seuerally wyth his owne company
 closed in the armye, such was the order of Darius host.
 But on the other syde beholdynge Alexanders armye,
 there was to be seene a great dyfference. Neyther the
 men nor the horse glistered so with golde nor pcecyous
 furnymentes, but only with the brightnes of theyr har-
 nesses. But they were obediēt at their capitaines beck
 alwaies in redynes to stay or to passe forwarde, nether
 combed with ouer great multitude, nor pestered with
 to much baggage. They wanted not in eny place either
 ground for their encāping, or victuals for theyr fedynge.
 wherby their smalle numbze was alwayes sufficient
 when they came to fyght: Wheras Darius the lorde
 of so huge a multitude, through the streightnes of the
 ground, wherin he was driuen to geue battaylle, coulde
 worke but the effect of a small nombze, beyng the thyng
 which he before had despised in hys enemy. Alexander
 appointed Abistammes the rule of Cappadocia, & mar-
 ching with his armie towarde Cilicia, came to y place
 called Cyzus Campe, because Cyzus lodged there, whe
 he passed into Licia against kinge Cresus. Thys place
 was dystant aboute .50. forlonges from the streyght,
 enterpnyng

Alexanders
 army.

entering into Cilicia. The countrey men vse to call those streightes Pylae, where as the naturall sytuacyon of the place had made a fortificatyon, as it were wyth mans handes. When Arsanes gouernour of Arsanes Cilicia vnderstode of Alexanders commynge, remembryng what opiniõ Demnon was of in the beginning of the warres, put in executyon hys wyle counsell when it was to late, wasting and destroying througout Cilicia, all suche thynges as he thought might stande hys enemy in steade, leuyng the countrey wast, wyche he thought he was not able to defende: where as yt had ben much better to haue taken the streyghte befoze hys enemyes, where from the hylles lyeng ouer the way, he myght without hasard, either haue lettred hys entrey, or els haue distressed hym in hys passyng. But he leuyng a small nombze for the defence of the streyght, retyred hym selfe backe to waste the countrey, which hys parte had bene to defende from destructiõ. By hys departure it came to passe that suche as he left behynd, thynkyng thei selues betrayed, woulde not soo muche as abyde the syght of their enemyes, when a much lesse nombze had bene sufficient to haue kept the passage. For the situacion of Cilicia is such, that it is enuironed rounde about with a continuall rough and steape mountayne, whych rising from the sea on the one syde & fetchyng a compasse about, ioyneth agayne wyth the sea on the other syde. Throughe that parte of the mountayne, which steth furdest from the sea, there bee thre narrow and rough passages, by one of the whiche they must entre, that wil passe into Cilicia. The countrey towarde the sea is plaine and full of Riueres, emonges the which two bee notable, Pyramus, and Cydnus, but Cydnus moste specyal, not so muche for hys greatnes, as for the

The descrip-
tion of Cilicia

Pyramus
Cydnus

clearenes of hys water, whych from hys fyrste sprynge
runneth pleasauntlie through al the Countrey, and hath
no other Riuer runnyng into hym to disturbe & pure-
nes of hys streame. For whiche cause it remayneth al-
wayes cleare, and also cold, by reason of the woodes
that do shadowe all the bankes. Tyme hath consu-
med many antiquities within that countrey, which bee
remembred of the Poetes. There may yet be sene the
foundacyons of Cities of Lirnessus, and Tebestus,
wyth the caue and woode of Cozicyus where saffron
groweth, wyth many other thynges wherof nothyng
remayneth, sayng only the same. When Alexander
entred the streightes before mencyoned, and behelde
the situacyon of them, he neuer in all hys lyfe maruei-
led more at hys owne felicitye and good sortune: con-
fessyng that it had not bene possible for hym to haue
passed, if eny had stande at defence agaynst hym: for
that wyth stones only he myght haue bene distressed,
the streighte besides beyng so narrow, that there could
not passe aboue foure in a front. To thencease of
whyche difficultye, the toppes of the mountaynes hong
ouer the wayes, whyche in many places were broken
and made holowe, with the streames that ranne down
from the hilles. Alexander sente the Thracians that
were lyghte armed, to stoze and discover the wayes,
for feare the enemyes should lye there in busshement,
and sodenlye breake forth vpon hym. He appoynted
also a band of Archers to take the toppe of the hille,
which were willed so to march, that they myght be al-
wayes in a redynes to fyght. After thys maner he came
with his armye to the Cytie of Carlson, whiche was set
on fyre by the Persians, because that Alexander should
fynde no herbozow there. But Parmenio was sent
thether

Lirnessus.
Tebestus.
Cozicyus

Carlson.

thether with a choyle number of horsemen to quench the fier. Who vnderstandynge that the enemyes were fled awaye thzough his comming, entred in to þe Cytye and by that meanes saued it from burnynge. The Ryuer of Cydnus spoken of before, dyd runne through this Cytye where the kynge arryued about mydday, yt beyng in the sommer season, what tyme the heate is no where moze feruente then in that countrey. He toke suche delyghte in the pleasauntnes of the water, that he woulde neades bathe hys body, to washe awaye the swette & dust he had caught. And beinge in an heat entered naked into the water in euerie mans syghte, thynkyng it should be a contentacyon to hys souldyers, to se þe furnishings about his body were none other, but suche as they comonly vled to weare. He was not so sone entered, but all the partes of hys body began to shake and trymble, hys face waxed pale, and the liuely heate was mortified in all partes of hys body. Hys seruantes toke hym vp and caryed hym into hys tent, as one besides hym selfe, & at the extreme point of death. Then there was a great desolacion and heuines in the campe, they weapte, lameded, & bewailed, þe such a king, so noble a capitaine as had not bene sene in enye age, should thus be taken from them in the chiefe of hys enterpryse, and bzunt of all hys busynes, and that after suche a maner, not in battayle slayne by hys enemyes, but thus cast away bathing in a riuer. It greued them that Darius now beinge at hand should obtayne þe victorie by such a chaunce, without seing of hys enemy, & that they shoulde be inforced to retourne backe agayne as men vanquysshed by those countres, through the whiche they had passed before as victozers. In whych countries all thynges being destroyed by them selues,

Alexander.
by bathing
a puer be-
came in great
perill of hys
life.

or by their enemies, it was of necessitie for them to dye
for hunger, though no man should pursue them. It be-
came a questyon amonges them selues who shoulde be
they? Capitayne in their flyeng away: or what he were
that durste succede Alexander. And though they might
safely arrive at the sea of Hellespont, yet who shoulde
prepare them passage there. When they had disputed
these questyons, their argument by and by was turned
into compassyon towardes their Prince, lamentyng as
men out of their wittes, that suche a floure of youth,
suche a force of courage as was in hym, that the same
their kynge and companion in armes, should after this
sorte be taken from them. In the meane season Alexan-
der began to fetch hys wynde somewhat better, & when
he came vnto hym selfe, he lifted vp hys eyes and began
to knowe hys frendes that were about hym. That the
vehemence of hys sickness somewhat assuaged, was per-
ceiued in that he began to vnderstand the perill he was
in. But the pensiuenes of hys minde was greate hynde-
rance vnto his health, for tidinges came that Darius
within fve dayes woulde be in Cilicia, whiche was
the chiefe thing that made him to sorowe and lamet. He
coude not take it but greuously, that suche a victorie
should be plucked out of hys handes through his infir-
mitie. And that he shoulde be taken as one tyed in fet-
ters, and be put to some shamefull and vile death. He
called therfore to him both his frendes and Philicyns
and sayd vnto them: Ye se in what state of my buynes
fortune hath taken me. We thinke the noyse of myne e-
nemies do ring in myne eares, and I whiche moued
first the warre, am nowe challenged & prouoked to the
fght. When Darius dyd wyte to me suche proude
letters, he was not ignoraunt of myne estate. Yet per-
aduenture

The wordes
of Alexander
to his frendes
in his sickness

aduenture he shalbe receiued, if I may vse myne owne
 minde in recouerie of mine owne health. My case re-
 quireth no slacke medicines, nor slowe phisicions: I
 had rather dye stoutely at once, then to consume long
 tyme in my recouery. Wherefore if there bee eny hope or
 cunningg in phisicke, let it bee shewed. And thynke that
 I seke not remedye so muche for mine own life, as I do
 for the care I haue to encountre wyth mine enemyes.
 When they heard him speake those wordes, they were
 in great doubt of his sodeine rashnes, & therfore euery
 one required him apart, that he would not encrease his
 perill through eny hast, but suffre him selfe to be ordred
 by the aduyce of his phisicys. For they alleged þat un-
 proued remedies were not suspected of them withoute
 cause, seing his enemy had gone about to corrupt such
 as were about hym, by promising a. M. talentes to hys
 killer, whiche cause alleged, they thought no man would
 be so bold to make eny experience of phisicke vpon him,
 whiche for the want of triall therof, myght in eny wyse
 geue cause of suspectyon. There was emongest the ex-
 cellent phisicions that came with Alexander out of Ma-
 cedon, one Philip of Alarnon, whiche was preferred to
 him for perseruacyon of his health, and had faythfullye
 serued him from his chylhode, and therfore loued hym
 with entyre affection. He promysed to prouyde for the
 kynge an approued remedye, but suche one as woulde
 worke behemently: but by þat drinkeyng therof, he doub-
 ted not, (he sayd) but to expulse the force of his disease.
 That promise pleased no man, but only him which in þat
 prouise therof should abide þat peryll: for he coulde en-
 dure al thinges better then delay. Darius & hys power
 were alwayes in his eye, & he had an assured confidence
 that þat victoery should fall on his side, if he myght be able.

Philip Alex-
 anders phis-
 ion,

Alexanders
imaginacion.

but to stand in þe sight of his men. The thing that only greued him, was that the Physicio would not minyster befoze the thyzde daye. In the meane leason Parmenio, whome of all hys nobilitye he trusted moste, hadde exhorted hym by hys letter, that he shoulde not comitte hym selfe to þe cure of Philip, for that he was corrupted by Darius with a thousand talentes, and the promise of hys sister in mariage. Those letters brought þe kynge in great care and doubt, and moued hym to weye and pondze secretly wyth hym selfe, all those thynges, that either feare oz hope coulde put in hys heade. Shall I aduenture (thought he) to dzyinke thys medycyne? What if it be poyson: shall I not then be accoupted the cause of myne owne death: shall I suspecte the fideltye of my Physicyon: oz shall I suffice myne enemye to kyl me in my bedde: yet were it better for me to perishe by other mens treason, then thus to dye through myne owne faynt harte. Hys mynde beyng thus dyuerselye wrought, he would shewe the contentes of the letter to no man, but sealed it wyth hys owne ring, and layde it vnderneath his pillow. Two dayes were passed in these Imaginacions, and the thurd daye the Physicyon came to hys beddes syde wyth the medycyne readye made. When the kynge sawe hym, he raised vp hym selfe vpon his elbowe, and taking the letter in his lefte hand, with the other hande toke the cuppe, and streyghte supped it of. When he had so done, he deliuered the letter to Philip to reade, and whyles he was readyng, he behelde hym continually in the face, supposyng that if he had bene faultie, some tokē would haue appeared in his countenaunce. When Philip had redde the letter, he shewed moze tokens of displeauntnes then of feare, and therewithall fell downe vpon hys knees, and said:

Sir

Syr, I see my lyfe doth depende vpon your health, but
 your recouery shal declare þ I am falsely charged with
 this treason: therfore whē by my meanes you shal get
 your helth, I trust ye wil not then deny me my life. In þ
 meane seasō lay feare aside, & suffre þ medicine to worke
 & to haue his operation. Kepe your mind quyet, & suffre
 not your self to be troubled with the superstitious care-
 fulnes of your frendes, whiche though it proceadeth of
 good will, is notwithstanding much impediment vnto
 your health. His wordes not only satisfied the king, but
 made him to cōceiue perfit hope of his recouerie, & said
 vnto Philip: If the goddes woulde haue graūted thee
 to deuise a meane to proue the cōfidence I haue in the,
 & the good will I beare the, thou couldest not haue cho-
 sen any so good as this is: for notwithstanding the let-
 ter, I dranke of þ medicine, beleuing thee to be no lesse
 carefull for declaraciō of thine owne trueth, then for my
 health, & therwith gaue him his hād. Yet afterwardes
 whē the medicine began to worke, it was such in ope-
 ration, þ it semed to verifie Parmenio his accusment:
 for he fainted oft, & had much laboꝝ to draw his bꝛeath.
 Then Philip left nothing vnproued oꝝ vndone þ might
 serue for his purpose. He layd warme clothes to his bo-
 dy, & alwaies as he fainted, reuyued him againe with þ
 sauour of one thing & other. And whē he perceiued him
 once to come to himselfe, he cessed not to feade him with
 talke, & one while put him in remembraunce of his mo-
 ther and his sisters, and another while of the great vic-
 toꝝ þ was at hand. Whē the power of þ medicine was
 once entred into his bey nes, there appeared streyghte
 in al partes of his body manifest tokens of health. First
 quickenes came to the spirites, and after the body reco-
 uered his strēgth, a great deale soner then any man lo-
 ked

Alexander's
 recovery.

ked for. For the third daye after he had been in this case
 he walked in the sight of the souldiers, which wonder-
 fully reioysed to see him. And they shewed no lesse affec-
 tion vnto Philip, whom euery one scuerally embraced
 and gaue him thanks, as if he had been a God. It can
 not be expzelled besides þe naturall veneration that Ma-
 cedons vse to beare vnto their prince, in what reuerence
 they especially had Alexandze, and how feruently they
 loued him. They had conceived of hym an opinion that
 he coulde enterpryse nothing, but that it was furthered
 by God, & fortune was so fauourable vnto him, that his
 rashenes was alwaies an increase of his gloype. His
 age besides scarcely type, and yet sufficient for so greate
 thynges, dyd marueilously sette furth all his doynge.
 And thynges which out of the wartes shoulde be coun-
 ted lightnes, are wont to be most acceptable to the soul-
 diers, as the exercising of his body amonges the, his ap-
 parell not differing from the comon sorte, with his cou-
 rage and forwardnes in the field: whiche gyftes geuen
 him of nature, & thynges besides done of policy dyd geat
 him both loue & reuerence of his people. When Darius
 heard of Alexandzes sickness, he marched towards the
 riuer of Euphrates with all þe hast he could make, in co-
 ueying of so cōbrous an army. He made there a brydge,
 & in .xv. daies passed ouer, his people hauyng great de-
 syre to get Cilicia before his enemy. By that time Alex-
 andze had recouered his strengthe, and was come to a
 Citie called Solos, whiche the inhabitauntes yelded
 vnto hym, and for two hundred talentes obtained assu-
 rance. Notwithstanding he put a garriso in the Casle,
 and there celebrated playes, and tryumphes whiche he
 had vowed to Aesculapius, and Minerva, for the reco-
 uery of his health: Where being geuen so quietly to his
 pastime

pastime, the doer how little he esteemed the coming of
 his enemies. Whiles Alexander was busied about these
 thinges, he receiued pleasant newes, how his men had
 wonne a battaile of the Persians at Halicarnassus,
 and that the Indians and Caronians with Dyuers ^{Indians,}
 other nations in those partes were brought vnder hys ^{Caronians,}
 obedience. This triumphe once ended, he remoued, and
 by a brydge made ouer the riuer of Pyramus, he came
 to the Citie of Halon: and from thence with an other ^{Halon:}
 remoue, came to a towne called Castabulon. There ^{Castabulon,}
 Parmenio returned to the king, whiche had been sent
 to searche the strightes that lay betwene them and the
 Citie of Ison. He had prevented the Persians at the ^{Ison:}
 passage, and so leauing men for the defence therof, took
 the Citie of Ison that was left desolate. He departed
 from thence, and did driue the Persians out of the mou-
 taines, searching & clearing al the waies. So hauing
 made al thinges sure for tharmy to passe, he returned a-
 gaine both the aucthour of the acte, and reporter of the
 thing done. Alexander encamped within the citie, and
 there debated in counsaile, whether it wer better to passe
 on further, or els to tary there for a moze power whiche
 was coming to him out of Macedo. Parmenio was ^{Parmenio}
 of opinio that this place was most meetest to abide Da- ^{his opinion,}
 rius in, & geue him battaile, where both tharmies shuld
 be of like force by reaso of the strightes, wherein no great
 multitude could fight at once. He shewed reasons why
 they ought to eschue the plaines, wherein their enemies
 shoulde haue great aduantage through their great nobze
 & might enclose the about. Wherin (he said) he doubted
 not hys enemies stoutenes, but onely feared that theyr
 owne men might be ouercome with werines, where a
 multitude shoulde fyghte with a fewe, & freshe men suc-
 ceede

Sylenes.

The grekes
adaple.

cede in the place of them that faynted. This counsaile was receiued for good, and Alexander determined in the same place to abide his enemies. There was in the host of the Macedons one Sylenes a Bethan, sent before time from the gouernour of Egypte vnto king Philyp: who being aduauced with reward & promociōs, chose to liue out of his owne countrey, & so following Alexander into Asia, was esteemed emonges those that the king trusted well. A souldier of Crete deliuered hym a letter from Nabazanes Darius lieutenant, wherein he exhorted him to doe some notable enterpryse, whereby he might winne fauour & reputaciō with Darius. Sylenes innocent of this matter, was about diuers times to present the letter to the kynge, but sayng hym occupied with weighty affayres of prouisiō for the battaile, prolonged the matter. And whyles he waited for a more convenient tyme, he brought himselfe in suspicion of treasō. For the letter was brought to the kinges handes before it was deliuered vnto him: who reading it, did seale the same with a strange seale, and caused it to be deliuered to Sylenes, to proue therby his fidelitie. But because he concealed the thing many dayes, and opened not the matter to the king, it semed that he consented thereunto: And therefore by the kynges commaundement he was put to death by the bande of the Cretensians. The Greeke souldiours whiche Chimodes had receiued of Pharnabazus (beyng those that Darius trusted most) were come vnto hym. They perswaded muche Darius to retyre backe into the playnes of Mesopotamia, and if he woulde not do so, that at the least he should diuylde his power, and not commytte the whole force of his estate to one stroke of fortune. This counsaile was not so displeasaunt vnto the kyng, as it was to suche that were about

about him: For they sayed, mercenary souldiours were alwayes full of treason; and were to be doubted the more for that they counsayled the armye to be diuided, whiche was for no other purpose, but onely that they myght haue commoditie to flee vnto Alexandze, when they shoulde haue anye charge commytted vnto them. There is nothyng therefore more sure for vs (quod they) then to enclose them rounde about with our army, and to cutte them in pieces, for an ensauple to the worlde that treason shoulde neuer be leste vnreruenged. But Darius whiche was of a meke and good dysposition, refused to committe so cruel an acte, in sleynge such as hadde betaken theyn selues to his trust: For if we shoulde fyle our handes (quod he) with theyr bloude, what straunge nacyon woulde euer then committe theym selues into oure handes: allegynge that there ought no manne to lose hys lyfe for geuyng foolyshe counsayle. For who woulde be bolde to geue Counsayle, if in counsaylynge there shoulde be anye peryll? I call you (quod he) to counsayle daylye, and heare the diuersitie of your opinions, and yet mistruste not them that geue me not alwayes the best counsayle. He caused the Grekes to be answered, that he gaue the thankes for theyr good will. But in returning backe (he said) he shoulde geue vp hym his countrey into hys enemyes hands, which wer not couenient. And considering the force & fame is of in the warre, in going backe he shoulde appeare to flee. But to differre the fight he thoughte it worst of all, seing so great an armye as he had (the winter then approaching) could not be vitailed in a desolate countrey, that had ben wasted bothe by them selues and by their enemies. And for the diuiding of his power he shewed that he coulde not do it, obseruing the customes of his

Darius des-
meny.

Darius an-
swer vnto his
counsell.

of his predeceffours, which were not wont to hafard the
 battaile, but with their whole power. He declared that
 Alexandre before his coming seemed terrible to þe worlde,
 & through his absence was brought in a bayne prefup-
 tion. But after he sawe him come forewardes, became
 ware & well aduised, hyding him in the streightes of the
 moûtaines, like thofe coward beastes, which hearing þe
 noife of comers by, do hyde themfelues in the denues of
 the woodes. He hath blynded his souldiers (as he) with
 his counterfeit sickenes, but now I will not fuffre him
 to prolong the fight any lenger, which if he will refufe,
 I will opprefle him in his luckyng hole. Thefe wordes
 he fpake with greater auante then trueth, and fente
 his treafure and Jewelles with a fawalle conuoye to
 Damafco in Syria, and entred with his armye into
 Cilicia, bringing with hym accordyng to his countrey
 maner, both his mother, his wyfe, his little fonne, and
 his daughters. It chaunced the fame night that Alex-
 andre was come to þe ftreight entring into Syria, Da-
 rius came vnto the place which they call Dilae Aman-
 cae: the Perfians not doubting at all, but that the Ma-
 cedons woulde haue forfaken the Citie of Iflon, and
 fled away for feare. For certain of them that wer weake
 and coulde not folowe the army were taken, the which
 Darius through infigation of the great men aboute
 him, raging in barbarous crueltie, caused their handes
 to be cut of, and to be ledde aboute his campe, to the en-
 tent they might beholde the multitude of his men, who
 after fufficient viewe taken, he lette them goe to fhewe
 Alexandre what they had feene. Darius remoued and
 paffed the riuer of Byramus, putpofyng to purfue after
 the Macedons, whiche he thought had been fleyng a-
 waye. They which had their handes cut of, came run-
 ning

Dilae Ama-
 cae.

ning in emonges the Macedons, declaringe that Darius was comming in great haste. There was scarce-lye anye credence geuen to their woordes, but to be sure Alexandre sent spyes toward the Sea coast, to knowe whether Darius were there in person, or els had sent some other to make a shewe of a power. The spyes re-
 touring, did report that his whole army was at hand, and strayght wayes the spyes mighte be sente, whiche gaue suche a shewe (by reason they laye straglinge so farre abrode to great forage) as though the whole coun-
 trey had bene on fyre. When Alexandre was acertay-
 ned of the truth, he encamped in the same place where the tydings came vnto him, being marueilous gladde because he knew he should fight, specially in the streigh-
 tes, being the thyng that he had alwaies desyred. But as it is commonly sene, when daunger and extremitie
 is at hande, confidence is conuerted into feare. So he
 doubted not without great cause, that fortune myghte
 chaunge vpon him, by whose fauour he had done so great
 actes, and considered her mutabilitie by such thinges,
 as she had taken from other, and geuen to him. He sawe
 there was no prozogacion of the time, but that after one
 night passed, the victorie should be determined. Yet on
 the other syde, he called vnto remembraunce howe the
 rewarde ensuing of the victorie, farre exceded the ad-
 uenture. For as the chaunce was doubtfull, so being dys-
 confited, he was certaine to dye with honoure and per-
 petuall prayse. When he had wayed these thinges, he
 gaue ordre that the souldiours shoulde restelhe them-
 selues, and at the thirde watche to be armed and in a
 readines to set forwarde. He himselfe went vp into the
 toppe of a mountaine with manye torches and lyghtes
 aboute him, Where he made sacrifice vnto the goddes

Alexandres
 ymaginacion
 before the
 battaile,

after

after his countrey maner. And when the houre was come appoynted vnto the souldiers, at the third sounde of the trumpet, they were in a readines both to marche and fyghte. Then exhortacion was gyuen vnto them to passe on with bolde courage, and so by the spyng of the daye they were come to the strepghes, wherein their purpose was to pzeuente Darius. By that time suche as were sent befoze to skowe the countrey, came in, and reported that the Persians were within thyrtye furlonges. Then the battailes were stayed and set in suche ordze as they shoulde fyghte. Lyke as Alexandze was enfourmied of Darius, so he was aduertised of Alexandze by the peasantes of the coultre, which came fearefullye runnyng vnto hym, declarynge that Alexandze was at hande. These wordes were not beleued: for they coulde not thinke them to be cummyng, whom they thought befoze to be fledde. But when they perceiued that it was so in dede, because they were in better ordze to pursue their enemies then to encountre with them in battaile, they wer stricken with a maruelous sodayn feare. Every man toke him to hys armour in haste, which haste and the calling that one made vpo an other, dyd putte a greater feare emonges theym. Some ranne vp to the toppes of the hilles to view the Macedons, other fell to brideling their hoxles. So that the hoste full of diuersitie, and not ruled by any certeyn gouernement, with their hurley burley, put all thinges out of ordze. Darius at the first had appointed one part of his power to take the mountaine, whiche settinge vpon his enemies backes, myght enclose them both behynde and befoze: and assygned another companye to passe alonge the sea syde which was on the right hand, to kepe his enemies doing on euery parte. He gaue ordze

The ordze
that Darius
gaue for the
battayle.

doe also that .xx. thousand footemen wyth a bande of archers should passe the ryuer of Pyramus, and geue an outlet that way. But if they found eny impediment why they might not do so, then he willed them to retire emonges the mountaines, & inuade theyr enemyes on theyr backs. But fortune whych was of greater force then eny policie, determined those thinges that were wel deuised, according as she thought good. For some durste not for feare execute the thyng that was commaunded them, and then the rest worked in bayne, for where the meynes faile, the whole body is confounded. The order of Darius army stode thus aranged to fight: his power being diuided into two battailes: one marchinge on the left hand, and the other on the ryght. Nabarzanes enpaled the battaile on the right had with a great powce of horseme, and .xxx. thousand Slingers and Archers. Thymones was also in þ battaile wyth .xxx. thousand mercenary Greekes, being in very dede Darius chiefest force: a power equal vnto Phalar of þ Macedons. In the battaile on the lefte hand Aristonenes was in the forefront with .xxx. M. footemen, hauing planted for his succour & relief, such nations as were couëted most valiaunt. There were about the kynge beyng also in that battaile, thre thousand choise horsemen, that were of the ordinary garde of hys persone, and .xl. thousand footemen, wyth the horsemen of Bizcany and Medya, and the horsemen of other nacjons were wynges on bothe sydes. And besydes these numbres, there wente before hys battaile in a foreorne hoope .vi. thousande Slingers and casters of dartes. All the plaine ground betwene the streightes was fylled wyth men of watte, and Darius battaile stode aranged from the mountaine downe to the Sea syde. The mother and wyfe

The order of
the Persians

The order of
the Macedons

of Darius wyth all the flockes of women, were recey-
ued into the myddes of the battaile. Alexander on the
other syde set hys square battayle of footemen called
Phalang (being the Macedons chiefest force) in the fore
front. Pycanor the sonne of Parmenio was capytaine
of the battaile on the ryght hand, and wyth hym Cen-
os and Perdicas, Meleager, Ptolomeus, and Amintas
were ioyned euery one with his owne band. Parmenio
and Cateus had the rule of the battaile on the lefte
hand, which stretched towardes the Sea, but Parme-
nio had the chiefe charge. Hozsmen were set in wynges
to both those battailes. The macedon men, and Thes-
salien hozsmen beinge appoynted to the ryghte hande
battaile, and the hozsmen of Deloponese to the battayle
on the other side, before which battayle, there were also
set slingers with archers emongest them, and the Cre-
tensians that were lightly armed, went before þe mayne
battayle. The bande of Agrians that were lately come
out of Grece, were assigned to encountre with those þe
Darius had sent to take the top of the mountayne. He
wylled Parmenio that as much as he might, he should
stretch out his band towardes the sea, to withdraue so
far as he could from the hilles, which the enemies had
taken. But such as had directyon by Darius to take the
hilles, neyther durst resist such as came against them,
no: yet compasse about suche as were passed by them,
but fled away at the first sight of the Slingers. Whych
thing chaunced well for Alexander, for it was the thing
that he doubted most, that they from the higher ground
should inuade the open side of his battayle, whych he lay
vnsancked towardes them. The Macedons marched
xxxii. in a tanke, for the streightnes of the ground would
not suffer the to go eny broader, but by litle and litle

as the playne betwene the mountaynes began to enlarge, so they had libertie both to make theyr battayles broader, and also for the horsmen to marche vpon the sydes. Whē both the battailes were come within sighte togethers, the Persians first gaue a terrible and rude shoute, whych was agayne doubled of the Macedons, not wyth theyr nūbre which were farre inferiour vnto the Persians, but wyth the rebounde of the hylles and the rockes, which doubled euery boyce of theirs.

Alexander did ride vp and darone before the frontes of his battailes, making a sygne to his souldyours wyth his hand, that they should not make ouer much hast to ioyne with their enemies, for bringyng the selues out of breath. And as he passed by, he bled to euery nacyō sondry exhortacions, as he thought mete for theyr dispositions and qualitie. He put the Macedons in remembrance of their olde prowes and māhode, with the nūbre of battailes that they had wonne in Europe, howe that they were come thither alwell by theyr owne desires as by his cōduct, to subdue Asia and p vttermost boundes of the Orient. He shewed the to bee the people that were ordeyned to conquere the world, and to passe the boundes both of Hercules & Bacchus. He declared that both Bactria and Inde shulde be theirs, in respect of which the countries that they had sene, were but trifles, & yet were to be gotten al with one victoꝝy: wherin (he said) their trauaile should not be in vaine, as it was in the barrenne rockes of Illiria, or in the mountaynes of Thrace, but p in this conquest the spoile of the whole Orient was offred vnto them. For the gettyng wherof they shuld scarcely nede to occupie their swordes, synce the battailes of their enemies waured so already for feare, that with their appoche only they should put the

The exhortacions that Alexander gaue vnto his souldiours.

to flight. He reduced hys father Philip vnto theyr me-
mory, how he cōquered the Atheniens with the cōtrey
of Boetia, where he rased to the ground the noble citie
of Thebes. After that he made reherfall of the battaile
wonne at the riuer of Granike, and of all the Cytyes
that he had taken, or that had bene yelded vnto hym,
with the countreis they had passed thzough & subdued.
When he came vnto the Greekes, he desired them to cal
to mind the greate warres that had bene made against
theyr cōtrey in tymes past by the Persyans. Fyyste
by the pryde of Xerxes, and after by Darius, who
made destruction both by water and land in such sort,
that the riuers could not serue them of dzyrke, nor the
earth of victualles for to eate: rehearsyng also how the
temples of theyr Goddes had bene by them polluted
and put to ruine, their Cytyes ouerthzowen, and the
truces and promises by them violated and bzoken, that
were confirmed both by diuine and humayne lawes.
When he passed by the Illirians and Thracians whi-
che were accustomed alwayes to lyue vpon thefte, and
spoyl: he bade them behold their enemies which gliste-
red wyth gold, and bare no armour, but spoyl for them
to take. He encoraged them to go forwarde like men,
and plucke the prais from those effeminate women, and
to make exchaunge of theyr craggye rockes and bare
hilles alwayes ful of snowe, for the plentiful groundes
and ryche landes of Persie. By the tyme he had made
these exhortacions, they were come within thzowe of
their dartes. And Darius horsmē gaue a fierce charge
vpon the righte hand battaile of y Macedons. For Da-
rius desire was to trie the battaile by horsmē, iudgyng
(as it was in dede) that y chiefest power of his enemies
consisted in their square battaile of fote mē. So that the
battaile

The battel
betwixt Da-
rius and Alex-
ander.

battaile where Alexander remained, was brought to þe
 pointe of enclosyng aboute, if he had not perceyued the
 same in tyme, who commaunded two tropes of his horse-
 men to kepe the top of the hil, & brought al the rest to the
 encounter of his enemies. Then he coueied the Thessa-
 lien horsmen from the place where they stode to fighte,
 willing their capitaine to bring the about behind þe bat-
 tailes, & there ioyning with Parmenio, to do the thing
 manfully that he should appoint the. By this the Pha-
 lanx of the Macedons in maner enclosed aboute wyth
 their enemies, foughte notably on all partes, but they
 stode so thicke, & were so ioyned one to another, that they
 wanted scope to welde theyr dartes. They were so
 mingled together, that in castyng one letted another:
 very fewe lighted vpon the enemies with weake dintes
 & the most part fel on the ground without harme doing.
 wherefore beinge enforced to ioyne hand for hand, they
 valiantly vsed the sworde. Then there was great effu-
 sion of bloud: for bothe the armies closed so neare, þe
 harneis clashed together, weapon against weapon, and
 foined one at anothers face wyth theyr swordes. Ther
 was no place for the fearful or þe coward for to fle back,
 but ech set his fote to other, & by fighting kept styll their
 place, til they could make their way by force, & so alwaies
 passed forwarde, as they had once ouerthrowen their
 enemies. As they were wried & trauailed thus with
 fighting, they wer euer receiued with fresh enemies: &
 such as were wounded might not depart out of þe battaile
 (as it hath bene sene els where) their enemyes assayled
 them so fierly before, and their fellows thrust on so
 hard behinde. Alexander that day dyd not onely suche
 thynges as pertayned to a Capitayne, but aduentured
 him selfe as far as eny priuate souldier, couetyng by all

Oratres Da-
rius brother.

meanes to kyl Darius, which he esteemed the greatest
honour. Darius dyd ryde alofte vpon hys chariot, ge-
uung great prouocation both to hys enemyes to assaile
him, and for his owne men to defend him. As Oratres
the brother appeared most notable emonges the all in
his furniture and personage, so in hardines and affecti-
tion towarde the kynge, he exceded farre the rest, spe-
ciallie in that case of necessitie. For when he sawe Alex-
ander appoche so neare, he thrust in before Darius
with the band of horsemen whercof he had the charge,
where as ouerthrowing diuerse, he put many to flight.
But the Macedons swarmed so about the kynge, and
were in such a coutage by the hortacio that eche made
to other, & they charged againe vpon & band of horse-
men. Then the slaughter was great, & the ouerthrowe mani-
fest. About the chariot of Darius, & noblest of hys cap-
taines lay dyeng honourably in the sight of theyr prince.
For lyke as they receyued their deathes woundes, so
they fel without turninge of theyr backes. Emonges
them Altyces, Romythres, & Sabaces gouernoure of
Egypt, hauing the charge of great numbres of menne,
were ouerthrowen and slaine, and about the there lay
by heapes a huge numbre of the vulgare sorte, bothe of
horsemen and fute men. Of the Macedons also some
were slayne, specially of such as pressed most forwarde,
emonges whom the ryght shoulde of Alexander lyte-
ly was hurte wyth a sworde. In this thronge the hor-
ses that drew Darius Chariot, were thruste in with pi-
kes, whych beyng woode for payne of theyr woundes,
began to strugge and ouerthrowe theyr mayster. He
fearynge therefore to be taken a lyue, leaped doونه and
was set vpon a ledde horse, and so fledde awaye, cas-
tyng his diademe from hys head, because he wold not
be

Darius over
thrown.

be knowen. Then al hys men for feare disparcled, fly-
 inge by such wayes as were open for them, and threw
 away theyr armoure, whych befoze they had taken for
 theyr defence: Suche a thyng is feare, that refuseth the
 thyng that should be hys sauegarde. When Parme-
 nio sawe them flee, he streyght commaunded the horse
 men to pursue them in the chase, and put al hys ene-
 myes to flyght that were on that part. But on the
 other hand, the Persians dyd put the Thessalien horse-
 men to a sore strafe. for at the first shooke they had bro-
 ken one of theyr troupes: yet for al that whē the Thessa-
 lians sawe theyr enemyes passe through them, they clo-
 sed them selues together agayne and charged vpon the
 Persians, who by reason of theyr onset geuyng, and
 for that they thought them selues sure of the victorie,
 became cleane out of order, and were ouerthrowen with
 greate slaughter. The Thessaliens had herein a great
 aduantage, by reason that the Persians besydes that
 they be armed themselves, haue their horses also bar-
 bed with plates of stele, whych was the cause they could
 not eyther in the onset, or retire bee so quick, as the Thes-
 salians were: for by theyr celeritie, wherin the feate of
 horsemen chiefly consisteth, they had ouerthrowen many
 of them, befoze they coulde tourne theyr horses aboute.
 When Alexander vnderstode that hys men preuayled
 of their enemies on that parte lyke wyse, was bold then
 to folowe in the chase, whyche he durst not do befoze he
 knewe the battaile to bee clearely wone, & then enemyes re-
 pulsed on al sides. Alexander had not about hym aboue
 a. viij. horsemen. wyth whom he slew innumerable of
 hys enemyes. For who is he that in an ouerthrowe or
 a chase can nūbre men? Those few Macedons did dryue
 the multitude of theyr enemies befoze them lyke shepe, &

Amintas.

the same feare that caused the flee, staied the likewise in their fleeing. The grecians þ were on Darius side, vnder their capitaine Amintas (which sometime had bene in great aucthoritie with Alexander, but then agaynste him) brake out fro the rest and marched away in orde of battaile. All the rest fled diuerse wayes, some directly towardes Persie, and some by pathes, and priuy waies escaped by the mountaines and the woodes. A few ther were þ recovered their former campe, whiche they coulde not defend any time againste the Macedons þ were victours, but the same immediatly was wonne, beinge ha-
 boundant of al riches, of gold and siluer, appertaining not onely to the warres, but to al voluptuousnes and ex-
 cesse: which riches whiles the souldiers violently spoy-
 led, they strowed the waies full of packes and fardels, which they would not touch, in respect of the couetous desire they had to thinges of greater valew. But when they came vnto the woman, as theyr firementes were most precious, so the more biolently they plucked them a-
 way, and their bodies were not free from their luste & en-
 forcement. The campe euery where was full of tumulte & lamentacion, as chaunce fell to eche one. The licency-
 busnes of the victors was such, þ their crueltie raged vpon all ages and kinde of creatures, and no kynde of mischiese wanted amonges them. There myght haue bene sene the variablenes of fortune, when they which had prepared Darius pavilion wyth al kynde of deli-
 cacie and riche furniture, reserued and kept the same for Alexander as for theyr olde mayster. For the Macedons had lesse that vnspoiled accordunge to theyr-
 auniente custome, whiche are euer wonte to re-
 ceive theyr kynge when he is victorious, into the kinges pavilion that he hath vanquished. The mother
 and

and wyfe of Darius that were there taken prisoners, Darius mo-
 moued all men to cast their eyes and inwarde conten- ther, his wyfe
 placion towards them, wherof the one deserued to be and his chil-
 reuerenced for the maiestie that was in her, and for her dzen, taken
 prisoners.
 age, and the other for the excellency of her beauty, which
 through her misaduenture was nothing stayned. She
 was sene embzacyng her little sonne in her armes, not
 yet of the age of sixe yeares, bozne as enheritour to the
 dominion which his father newly had lost. There laye
 also two young virgines in their grandmothers lappe,
 euen then mariable, whiche languished & lamented not
 so much through theyr owne priuate sorowe, as for the
 dolorousnes of the olde woman. About the mother and
 the wife were a great numbze of noble womē that pul-
 led their heare and tare theyr clothes, without respecte
 what apperteyned to theyr estate. Who bumindefull of
 the fall Darius wyfe and hys mother were come vnto,
 called theym styl by the name of Queenes, with suche
 other tytles of honour as they dyd befoze. They all for-
 geatting their owne miserie, were diligent to enqyze
 the fortune of the fiede, and what successe the battayle
 hadde where Darius was. For if he were alyue (they
 sayed) theyr coude in no wyse thynke theymselues pri-
 soners. But he by the chaunging of manye horses, was
 by that tyme fledde farre awaye. There were slayne of
 the Persian fotemenne a hundred thousande, and ten
 M. horsemen. And of Alexandres company onely 504.
 hurte, and xxxii. fotemen, and cl. horsemen kyled. So
 great a victorpe was gotten with so smalle a losse. A-
 lexandre that was weryed with pursuyng of Darius,
 when he perceiued the night to draw on, and that there
 was no hope to ouertake him whom he folowed, retur-
 ned into the Persian campe, which a little befoze hys
 com-

The numbre
 of them that
 were slayne.

coming was taken by his men. That nyght he made
 a banquet to suche as he accustomed to call. for the hurt
 of his shoulder, wherof the skynne was but smally peris-
 shed, letted him not to kepe companye. As they sate at
 meate, sodainly they heard a pitiful crye, with a strange
 howling & lamentation, that put them al in great feare:
 In so much that the bande that kept the watche aboute
 the kynges Pavilion, fearing it to be the begynninge
 of some greater matter, begā to arme themselves. The
 wyfe & mother of Darius, with the other noble women
 newlye taken prisoners, were the cause of his todayne
 feare, by lamentinge of Darius, whom they supposed
 had been slayne. Which opinion they conceiued throughe
 one of the Eunuches, which standing befoze theyr tent
 doare, saw a souldier cary a parcel of Darius diademe,
 whiche he a litle befoze had cast from his head. When
 Alexandze vnderstode their errour, he wept (as it was
 saied) to considze Darius misfortune, and the womens
 affection towardes him. And for their coumfort, sent to
 them one Mithrenes þe betrayed Sardes, who was ex-
 pert in the Persian tounge, but yet considering that the
 sight of hym being a traytour, should but encrease their
 sorow, sent a noble man called Leonatus, to declare to
 them howe they were deceiued, and that Darius was
 a lyue. He came towardes the tente where the women
 were, with certain menne in harnays, and sente worde
 befoze, that he was come thither from the kyng. But
 when suche as stode at the tent doare sawe armed men
 coming, supposinge theyr errande had bene to mur-
 der theyr mystrilles, ranne in to theym, and cryed oute
 that theyr last howze was come. for the menne were at
 hande that were sent to kyll them. The seruantes ther-
 fore that neyther durste let Leonatus in, nor kepe hym
 out,

Mithrenes.

Leonatus.

out, brought him no aunswere, but remayned quyetlye to see what he woulde doe. When Leonatus had long taried at the doare, and saw none came furth to cal him in, lest his men without, and entred emonges the women. Whose commyng vnto them befoze he was admitted, was the thing that feared them most of al. The mother therfoze and wyfe of Darius fell downe at hys feete, requiryng him that befoze they were slayne, he woulde suffice theym to burye Darius after hys countrey maner: whiche last obseruaunce perfourmed, they were content (they sayed) gladlye to suffice death. Leonatus assured them that bothe Darius was alyue, and that there was no harme towarde theym, but should remaine in the same estate they were in befoze. When Siligambis heard those wordes, she suffered her selfe to be lyft vp from the ground, and to receiue some comforte. The nexte daye Alexandre with great diligence, buried the bodies of suche of hys owne men as coulde be found, & willed the same to be done to the noble men of the Persians, geuyng lycence to Darius mother to burye so manye as she lyst, after the custome of her countrey. She perfourmed the same to a fewe that were nexte of her kynne, accordyng to the habilitie of her present fortune. for if she should haue bled the Persians pompe therein, the Macedons myght haue enuied it, whiche beyng victozers, bled no great curiositie in the matter. When the due was perfourmed to the dead, Alexandre signified to the women prisoners, that he himselfe woulde come to visite them, and causynge suche as came with him to tarye without, he only with Ephestion entred in emonges them. The same Ephestion of al me was most deare vnto Alexandre, brought vp in his compaigny from his youthe, and most priue with

with him in all thynges. There was none that hadde
suche libertye to speake hys mynde playnlye to the
kyng as he hadde, whiche he vsed after suche sorte,
that he seemed to doe it by no aucthoritie, but by suffe-
raunce. And as he was of lyke yeaeres vnto hym, so in
shape and personage he dyd somewhat excelle him.

Wherefore the weomen thynkyng Ephetion to bee
the kyng, dyd falle downe and worshyppe hym (as
they countrey maner was to doe to kynges) tyll suche
tyme as one of the Eunukes that was taken prisoner,
shewed whiche of them was Alexandre. Then Sisi-
gambis fell downe at hys feete, requiring pardon of her
ignoraunce, for so much as she did neuer see hym before.

The king toke her vp by the hand, and said: mother, you
be not deceiued, for thys is Alexandre also. Whiche his
humilitie and continency of mind if he had continual-
lye obserued to his latter daies, he myghte haue bene
thought much more happier than he was, when he ha-
uing subdued all Asia fro Hellespōt to the Ocean sea, did
countrefait the triumphes of Bacchus. Or if he amonges
the reste of his conquestes, he woulde haue laboured to
conquere his pryde and his yre, beyng byces inuyn-
cible. Or if in hys dronkenness he woulde haue ab-
stayned from the slaughter of his nobilitie, and not to
haue put to death those excellent men of warre without
iugemēt, which helped him to cōquere so many naciōs:
But at this time the greatnes of his fortune hadde not
yet altered his nature, though afterwards he could not
beare his victories with that vertue he dyd winne them.

Then he behaued himselfe after suche a maner, that he
exceeded in continency & compassion, all the kynges that
had bene before his tyme. He enterteyned the two quenes
with those byrgins that were of excellent beautye so
reue-

¶ digression.

Alexandres
continency &
clemency.

reuerently, as if they had been his sisters. He not only abstayned from all violacion of Darius wyfe, which in beauty excelled all the women of her tyme, but also toke great care and diligēce, that none other should procure her to any dishonour. And to all þe women he comaunded their ornaments & appaile to be restored. So þe they wanted nothing of þe magnificence of their former estate, sauing only þe assured confidence that creatures want in miserie. Whiche thynges considered by Sili-gambis, he sayed vnto the kynge: Syr your goodnes forwarde vs doth deserue, that we should make þe same prayer for you, that we did sometime for Darius, & we perceiue you worthy to passe so great a king as he was in felicitie and good fortune, that abounde so in iustice and clemencie. You bouchsafe to call me by the name of mother and of Queene, but I confesse my selfe to be your handmayde. For bothe I conceiue the greatnesse of my estate past, and feele that I can beare this present seruitude. It lyeth only in your handes howe we shall be dealt withall, and whether you will make vs notable to the worlde, through your clemencie or crueltie. The kynge comforted them all he myght, and willyng theyn to be of good cheare, toke Darius sonne in hys armes. Therat the chylde was nothyng astryde, hauing neuer sene him before, but toke & embraced hym aboute the necke. He was so moued with the constancy of the childe, that he beheld Ephestion and sayed: oh I would that Darius had had some parte of this gentle dysposicion. When he was departed from thence, he caused thre altares to be made vpon the riuer of Tigris, and there byd sacrifice to Jupiter. Hercules, & Minerva, and so went forwarde into Syria. He sent Parmenio before to Damasco, wheras Da-

Sili-gambis
wordes vnto
Alexandre.

Syria.
Damasco,

rius

HARDUS.

rius treasure dyd remayne: who vnderstandynge by the waye that Darius had sente one of hys nobles thither, fearyng that for the smalnes of his owne numbze the Damascens would kepe him out, determined to sed for a greater power. But by chaunce one Hardus fell into the handes of the hoxlemen that he had sent befoze to scowze the countrey, whiche being broughte befoze Parmenio, deliuered hym the letters that the capitayn of Damasco hadde sente to Alexandre, and besides the letters, added of hymselfe, that he doubted not but all Darius riches and hys treasure shoulde be deliuered to hym at hys arruall. Parmenio gaue the charge to certayne of hys menne for hys sure keepynge, and then opened the letters, wherin it was conteyned y Alexandre in all haste shoulde sende one of his capitaines thither with a small power. Which thing knowen, he sent Hardus backe agayne to Damasco, with certayne to accompanye him: but he escaped oute of their handes, & came to Damasco befoze daye lighte. That thing troubled greatly Parmenio, doubting that his enemies had layed some embushment for him, & therfoze durste not goe an vnknowe way without a guyde. Yet notwithstanding, vpon the confidence he had in the felicitie of hys prynce, toke peasantes of the countrey to conducte him the way, which the .iiii. day, brought hym to the cite of Damasco. The capitaine doubting that credence should not be geuen to his letter pretended to mistruste the strength of h towne, & made couitenance as though he would fle away. By the spring of the daye, he caused Darius treasure (which the Persians call Gasa) with the rest of all his precious thinges to be brought furth of the towne, of purpose to betraye the same into the Macedons handes. There were manye thousandes of
menne

menne and women that folowed, a piteous syght to all that sawe theym, sauing to him, to whose fidelitie they were commytted. For he to wyne hymselfe thanke, purposed to deliuer to hys enemyes a praye more precious then all the rest, which were suche of the nobilitie as he had in keeping, with the wiues & children of great menne that bare rule vnder Darius: and besydes the Embassadors of the cities of Greece, whō Darius had leste in the traytours handes, as in a fortrese (to hys thynkyng) of moste suertie. The Persians call those Gangabe, that carpe burthens vpon theyr shoulders, who hauynge the cariage of thynges of moste valure, when they coude not endure the colde for the froste and snowe that sodaynly fell, they put vpon them the robes of clothe of golde & purple, which they caried wrapt vp together with the money, there being no man to let the: for the aduersitie of Darius caused that base sorte of men to vse a licentious libertie. Those kynde of men seemed to Parmenio at the first sighte to be no small armye, and therfore regarded not the matter lightlye, but gaue exhortacion to those þe were with hym, as though they shoulde haue fought a sore battayle, & willed the to putte their spurres to their horse, and geue the charge. Whiche thyng perceyued by theym that bare the burdennes, fledde awayne for feare, and so dyd the menne of warre that were with theym, by suche wayes as they best knewe. The capitaine of Damasco counterfayinge suche feare as other feared in dede, was the cause of all this confusion. The ryches of Darius was leste alone, & laye sparkled abroade ouer all the fieldes, with the money that was prepared for the wages of so infinite a numbre of souldiours, and also the apparail of so manye great men and noble women, vessels of golde, golde

Oechus king
before Darius.
us.

golden furnimentes for horses, pavilions adorne with
regall magnificence, and Wagons full of infinite ri-
ches. A thing euen sorrowfull to beholde to the spoylers,
if anye thyng could staye the couetousnes of men. Was
it not a pitifull thyng to beholde, the riches that hadde
been gathered together in so great numbze of yeares,
whyles the state of the Persians stode in that incredi-
ble heygth of fortune, one part to be tozne with bushes,
and an other drowned in the myze, it beyng so greate
besydes, that the handes of the spoylers coulde not suf-
fice for the spoyle. When the horsemen had ouertaken
them that fledde first they founde diuers women harp-
ing of the smalle chyldzen, emonges whom there were
foure virgines, the daughters of Oechus, that reigned
next before Darius. They before that time hadde suffe-
red chaunge of fortune, when the state was altered fro
their fathers lyne. But this aduersitie was much more
greuous vnto them. There was in this flocke the wyfe
of Oechus, the daughter of Oratrix that was Darius
brother, and the wyfe of Artabazus whiche was of the
head house of Persia, with hys sonne also called Fho-
nesus. The wyfe and the sonne of Farnabazus were
also taken, to whom Darius had comytted the charge
of all the sea coastes, and with theym the three dought-
ers of Mento, the wyfe and the sonne of the noble
captain Menon. There was scarcely anye house of the
nobilitie of Perse free from that euill aduenture.
There were bothe Lacedemonians and Athentians
that contrarpe to the league betwene Alexandze and
them, toke Darius parte. Emonges the Athenians
Aristogiton, Dropides, and Leueres were of most
notable fame and linage. And of the Lacedemonians
the chiefest were Perisippus and Onomastorides with

Dma

Manys and Callicratides. The summe of the coynd money there taken, was two thousand. lx. talents, and of massy siluer. v. hundzed talents. Beside. xxx. thousande men, and. vii. thousande beastes that carped burdeynes on their backes. But the Goddes dyd persecute with due punishment the betrayer of suche a treasure. For one whom he had made priue to the matter, pityng therein the estate of hys Prince, dyd slea the traitoure, and brought his heade to Darius. A comfort not vnapt for the tyme to the betrayed kynge. For therby he was both reuenged of hys enemye, and perceyued that the memozye due vnto hys estate, was not growen out of all mens hartes.

(.:.)

F. i.

The summe
of the trea-
sure taken at
Damasco.

The fourth booke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.

Darius whiche a little before was Lord of so great an army, and that came vnto the field caried alofte vpon his chariot, moze like to triumphe then to fight: fled by y places the wast and desert, whiche he before had fylled wyth hys infinite numbres of men of warre. There were but fewe that folowed hym. for neither they fled al one waye, nor such as folowed could kepe pace with hym that so often chaunged horses. At length he came to Unchas where he was receyued of. iiii. M. Greckes, which conducted hym to the Ryuer of Euphrates, thinking all such his countreys to be losse, in the whyche he coulde not preuente Darius by haste making. Parmenio was appointed gouernour of Siria, and to be the keper of the treasure and prisoners whiche he toke at Damasco. The Sirians could not at the first beare theyr newe gouernement, because they had not yet felt the scourge of the warres: but as they reuolted, they were streyghtwaye subdued, perfourmyng all y they were appointed to do. The Ile of Arade was yelde to Alexander, wherof Strato was kynge, that had in subiection all the sea coast, with diuers of the inland countries, who submittyng hym selfe, Alexander remoued to the citie of Marathon. There he receyued letters from Darius, that put hym in great coler, because they were so arrogantely written. The speciall poynte that moued Alexander, was

Strato king
of Arade.

Letters from
Darius vnto
Alexander.

was for þat Darius wrotig him selfe king, did not bouch-
 safe to geue him that title, but did wote rather by waye
 of commaundement then of request, profering for the
 raunsome of hys wife and children, so muche money as
 Macedon coulde receiue. For the superiortie (he saied)
 he put it to his choise, to trye it by the sword if he liste.
 But if he woulde be better aduised, he willed hym to be
 content with hys owne enheritaunce, and so he would
 loyne in amitie with hym, & become his frend, in whych
 point he was ready to enter into treatie. Alexander did
 wote to hym againe after thys maner: Darius whose
 name thou hast vsurped, dyd great destructiō vpon the
 Greekes inhabityng on the coast of Hellespont, & vpon
 the Ionians whiche be Greeke Cities, passyng from
 thence the sea with a great army to make warre agaynst
 Grece and Macedō. And also king xerxes thy prede-
 cessor came to subdue vs with infinite nūbres, whiche
 beyng vāquished in a battaile on the sea, lefte not with-
 stāding Harbonius behinde him in Grece, to destroy
 theyr cities & burne their countreies. It is manifest beli-
 des that Philip my father was slayne by such as were
 corrupted thereto with your money. We vndertake al-
 waies vniust warres, & occupyng armes, go about for
 all that to circumuēt men with treason. As thou of late
 hauing such numbze of men in thine army, diddest pro-
 cure my death with the promys of a thousand talentes.
 I am not therfore the beginner of the warres, but re-
 pulse such iniuries as be profered me. In doing wher-
 of through the helpe of the Gods (which fauour alway
 the ryght) haue brought the moze parte of Asia vnder
 my subiection: and hauing overcome the in battaile by
 force of armes, there is no cause þat I shoulde graunt the
 any thyng, which hath not obserued towarde me the

Alexanders
 answer to
 Darius let-
 ters.

Phenicia.
Biblon.
Sydon.

lawe of armes, yet if thou wilt come & submit thy selfe,
I promys thee that I wyll deliuer bothe thy mother,
wife, and childzen: for both I know how to get the vic-
torie, and how to vse such as I ouercome, but if thou
fearest to commit thy selfe to vs, I wyll geue the sau-
conduite to come frelye. In the rest when thou writest
vnto me, remēbre that thou writest not onely to a kynge
but also vnto him that is thy kynge. He sent thys letter
by Therlippus, and went from thence into Phenicia,
where the cite of Biblon was yelden vnto hym.
And so came vnto Sydon whiche was a cite of great
nobilitie, by reaso of the antiquitie and fame of the build-
ers. The same was vnder Stratos dominyon, sup-
ported by the power of Darius, who yealdyng moze by
the constreint of the people, then of his owne good wil,
was thought vnwozthye to reygne there. Alexander
made a graunt to Ephestion & he should make such one
kynge, whom the Sidons thought most woꝛthye that
estate. There were diuers noble young men in that cy-
tye that had familiaritie wyth Ephestion, of whome he
purposed to haue chosen one kynge: but they refused
hys offer: asseyrmyng that none myght enioye that dyg-
nitye, except he were descended of the bloude royall. E-
phestion wondered at the magnanimitye that was in
them, in despisyng the thynge whiche other sought for
by sworde and fire, and therfore laied: continue you
styll in that vertuous mynde, whych be the firste that
haue vnderstandyng, howe muche better it is to re-
fuse then to receyue a kyngedome. Chose you therfore
suche one of the bloude royall, that maye remembre
he hath receyued the rule at your handes. But when
they sawe diuers gapyng for it, and for the gredyness
they had to reigne, fel to flattering of such as were nere
aboute.

aboute Alexander, resolued that there was none moze meete for that dignite, then one Abdolominus, who beyng of the auncient bloud of the kynges, for pouertie was enforced to dwell in a small grange wythout the cite. Hys honestie was the cause of hys pouertie (as it is to many other) and beyng occupied in hys dayly labour, hearde no noyse of the warres that troubled all Asia. They of whom we spake of before, came into his gardeyne with garmentes to apparaile him like a king and found him weadyng of his ground, whorn they saluted kyng, and sayed: You muste make exchange of the vilenes of your apparaile, with these riche robes we here present you: washe the body that is nowe foule and filthye, take vpon you the harte of a kyng, and in this fortune whereof you be worthye, shewe the same moderation and continencie you do vse presently. And when you shall sit in your regall seate hauyng in your handes power of the life and death of your people, do in no wise forgette the estate ye were in when ye toke the kingdome vpon you, nor yet for what purpose ye did receyue it. The matter seemed to Abdolominus lyke a dreame, and asked the if they were madde that woulde mocke hym after that maner. But when he saw them affirme by othes the thinge to bee in earnest, he washed hym selfe, & receyving the garmēt which was of purple and golde, wēt with them into the palace. The same (as is wont in such a case) did notably runne at zode of thys matter. Some fauored hys cause, & some did disdain it, but suche as were rich, did reproue hys pouertie & base estate to suche as were nere about Alexander, whiche caused the kyng to send for him, and when he had long beholden his behauour, sayed: your personage dothe not disagre to the fame of your linage. But I desire to

Abdolominus was made kyng.

knowe with what pacience you dyd susteyne your po-
uertie. I would to God (qd he) I coulde bare my pros-
peritie in like case nowe when I am a kynge. These
handes did get that I desired, and haupng nothyng,
I lacked nothyng. Hys wordes caused Alexander to
conceyue of hym a marueilous opinion, so that he gaue
vnto hym not onely the riches, stufte, and furnymentes
apperteynyng to the kynge befoze, but also manye
thynges that were taken from the Persians, addyng
to hys dominion all the countrey neare about the cite.
In the meane season Amintas with foure thousande
Greekes that escaped with him out of the fiede, fledde
to Tripolis, where he embarked, and sailed vnto Cy-
pres: thynkyng the worlde to be such the, that euery one
might enioy þ he could get, like as it had ben hys owne
inheritace. His purpose was to go into Egypt, thinking
there to become enemy both to Darius & Alexander and
to waye with þ worlde, according as þ tyme should al-
ter. To bring therfoze his souldiers to hope well of hys
enterpryce, he declared how þ gouernour of Egypt was
slaine in the battell, & that þ Persians left there in gua-
rison were but a small number, of little force, & without
any head. He shewed how the Egyptians vsed to rebel a-
gainst their gouernours, wherfoze they were sure to be
receyued as freedes. For since necessite (qd he) hath en-
forced vs to proue our fortunes, which failing vs in our
first hope we must now thinke that things to come shal
be muche better then our present estate. They al agreed
with one voyce, that he should lead them where he lyst.
Wherupon thinking good not to pretermitt the occasy-
on whiles the hope was hotte in their hartes, conueied
them into Egypt, and entred the hauen at Pelusium, vn-
der pretence that he had bene sent thether by Darius,

When

Tripolis.

Amintas per-
suasid to hys
souldiours.

Pelusium.

When he had gotten Belusium, he sette forwarde to-
 wardes Memphis, at the same of whose commynge the Memphis
 Egyptians being a lighte nation, & moze apt to make a
 sturce, then to mainteyne it when it is once begon, ran
 to hym out of all towne and villages, with entent to
 destroy al the Persians. But they not withstandynge
 the feare they were in, did not leaue the defence of the
 countrey, but fought wyth the Greeces, and were put
 to flyght. After that victoꝛye Amyntas besieged Mem-
 phis, and hys men destroyed so all the countrey ther-
 aboutes, that they left nothyng vnspoyled. Wherupon
 Mazarces though he perceiued hys souldiours muche
 amased with the feare of theyꝝ late ouerthrowe, yet Mazarces
 when he sawe his enemies scatered abroad and wyth-
 out ordꝛe, for the pride they had conceyued of theyꝝ vic-
 toꝛy: at length perswaded hys men to issue out of the ci-
 ty and in settinge vpon theyꝝ enemies, recouer agayne
 that they had lost. Which aduise beyng good of it selfe,
 by good hādelyng toke most fortunate successe. for they
 slewe at that time both Amyntas and all his company.
 This punishment he suffered for the offence comyt-
 ted to both pꝛinces, being neither faythfull to Alexan-
 der whom he forsoke, noꝛ to Darius to whom he fled.
 Darius capitaynes whiche escaped from the battayle
 at Isson, gathering together suche men as were scate-
 red abroad, and suche power beside as they coulde lea-
 ue in Capadoce and Paphlagonia, did attempte to re-
 couer agayne the countrey of Lidia. Antigonus was
 gouernour for Alexander there, who notwithstanding
 that he had taken many souldiers out of the guarisons
 to send vnto Alexander: yet he so little esteemed hys ene-
 mies, that he doubted not to aduenture the battayle.
 The Persians receiued there the like fortune they dyd

Aristomenes

Milesum.

Andros.
Syphnus.

Agis.

The Citie of
Tyre.

in other places: whiche attemptyng the fight in thre sundrye countreies, were banquished in them all. At the same time the nauie of the Macedons whiche Alexander had sent for out of Greece, metynge Aristomenes (whom Darius had appointed to make warre vpon the coast of Hellespont) toke and drowned all his shippes. Farnabazus Darius admirall, hauyng exacted money at Milesum, and sette a guarison in Scio, passed into the Ile of Andros with a hundred shippes. And from thence he wente to Syphnus, & puttyng men of warre into all the Ilandes, exacted of them money. The greatnes of the warre that was in hand betwene two of the most puyssant prynces of Asya and Europe, dyd drawe both Greece and Crete to armes. Agis the kyng of Lacedemon gathered together. viii. thousand Greekes that were come home out of Cylicia, and moued warre to Antipater, that was gouernour of Macedonia. The Cretians folowynge sometime one part, and sometime an other, receyued one while guarison of Macedons, and an other while of Lacedemonians, to lye amonges them. But those warres were of no great importaunce. for all mennes eyes were fixed vpon the warres that were in bre betwene Alexander & Darius; wherupon all the rest did depend. The Macedons had subdued al Siria & Phenices, Tyre only except, which beyng the greatest & most notable cite of all that countrey, shewed that they esteemed them selues worthe rather to ioyne with Alexander as frendes, then to become hys subiectes. for when he was come nere vnto them, and encamped vpon the mayne lande, whiche is diuided from their cite wyth a small arme of the Sea: They sent to hym by their Embassadors a crowne of gold for a present, with great plenty besides of victuals

for his army. He receiued their gifts, as fro his frendes,
 and gaue gentle aunsweres vnto the Embassadours:
 but he shewed himsele much desyring to make sacrifice
 vnto Hercules (whō the Titians specially worshipped,
 & the Macedon kynges supposed themselves to be dys-
 cended of him) being admonished therunto (as he sayd)
 by an Oracle. The Embassadours made aunswere:
 there was a tēple of Hercules without their Citie in the
 place which they call Phaletirō, where as he might doe
 sacrifice at his pleasure. At those words Alexander could
 not reſtrayne his yre, wherunto he was muche ſubiecte,
 but fell in a rage: I perceiue now (quod he) becauſe ye
 dwell in an ylande, ye truſte ſo much in the ſituation of
 your Citie that ye diſpiſe my lande power. But I will
 ſhortly doe you to vnderſtande, that ye dwell vpon the
 mayne land, and bring you in ſuch caſe, as your Iſland
 ſhall not helpe you: and therfore truſt to it that if ye re-
 ceiue me not in, I will entre by force. When the Em-
 baſſadours were diſmiſſed with this aunſwere, ſuche
 as were neare about the king, perſwaded the that they
 ſhould not exclude him, whom al Siria and Phenices
 had receiued. But they had conceiued ſuch a confidence
 for that their citie ſtoode in the Sea, diuided lxxx. fur-
 longes from the mayne lande, that they vtterlye deter-
 mined to abyde the ſiege. That ſea of theirs is muche
 ſubiecte to the ſouthweſt wynde, which made at euery
 ſtorme the waues beate ſo high againſt the ſhoare, that
 it would not ſuffre the Macedons to make anye worke
 for the ioynſting of the mayne land to the citie: it beyng
 ſcarcelye poſſible to worke anye thinge there, when the
 weather was moſt caulme. The fyrſte worke that the
 Macedons began, was by and by throwen down with
 the vehemency of the ſeaſ that were driue by the wind.

.291.1112

The ſiege of
Tyre.

Now they could make no hole so strong within the sea, but that it was washed away, & brought down by beating of the waues. And when the winde blew streinably, it would bring the seas cleane ouer the worke. There was an other difficultie no lesse then thys, for by reason that the walles were enuironed aboute with the deapenes of the sea, they could rayse no engine to shoote but a far of out of shippes, nor there was not any ground aboute the citie, wherupon ladders mought haue bene raysed against the walles, or appoche made vnto them by land. Alexander had no shippes, and though he had had some, and would haue conected to bring them to the walles, yet by reason of the vnstabilenes of the water, they myghte with shotte easely haue bene kept of. But emonges the rest of other thynges, the Tirians were wonderfully encouraged by the commynge of the Embassadors sente from Carthage, to celebrate a yereley sacrifice, accordyng to their custome. For the Tirians being the buylders of Carthage, were synce that tyme had in veneration of the as their parentes & first founders. Those Embassadors exhorted the in any wyse to abyde the siege, and promysed them shortly ayde, which they alleged might easely & sone be done, forsomuch as at that tyme all the seas were full of the Carthage fleetes. Upon this harting they determined to abyde the extremitie, and placed their engynes vpon the towers and the walles, diuyding theyr armour emonges the youth of the citie. The artificers, wherof that citie had great plentie, were diuyded into worke houses to make all suche thynges as were necessarye for the warres. There were deuised certayne instrumentes wherewith they myght pull downe the workes that theyr enemies made, called Harpagons, and also crows of Iron named

Carthage.

med

med Corui, with al other thinges that might be inuen-
 ted for the defence of Cities. But a straunge thyng
 is reported that when the Iron was put in the forge & ^{Prodigious}
 blowen in the fyre, the same was sene to be full of drop- ^{signes.}
 pes of bloude. Whiche wonder the Tirians did inter-
 prete as a token of good fortune towards them selues,
 and as a signification of destruction towards their e-
 nemies. A lyke thyng was sene emonges the Mace-
 dons. for when a certaine souldiour was breakynge of
 hys bread, droppes of bloude appeared therein. Wherat
 Alexander beyng astonied, Aristander that was moſte ^{Aristander,}
 cunning of all the diuyners of their religion, dyd inter-
 prete thus the matter. If the bloude had appeared out-
 wardlye, then it had ignifyed euil fortune to the Mace-
 dons, but in as much as it was found within, it betoke-
 ned destruction to the Citie they went about to get. Al-
 lexander considering his nauye to be farre from hym, &
 that a long siege should be great impediment to hys o-
 ther affaires, sente officers of Armes vnto the Citie ^{The lawe}
 to perswade them vnto peace, whom the Tirians a- ^{of nations}
 gaynſte the lawe of nations dyd drowne in the Sea. ^{broken.}
 Their vniuste deathe stirred Alexander so muche, that
 he then vtterlye determined to goe forwarde with the
 siege. but before he could make his approche, it was of
 necessitie for him to make a Pere or a Hole, wherby
 they myghte passe from the mayne lande to the Citie.
 But in the making therof there entred great dyspayre
 into all menies heartes considering the deapnes of the
 sea, which they sawe not possible to be fylled, scarcely by
 any diuine powre. For they thought no stones so great,
 no trees so high, noz any countrey to haue such plenty as
 might suffice for the building of a banke in such a place,
 considering the sea remained alwaies troubled. And the
 narrowe

Monte Libanus.

narrower the place was betwene the cite and the land, so muche moze greater was the rage. But Alexander that had the way to allure his souldiers to what effect him pleased, declared how Hercules appeared vnto him in his sleape & gaue him his hand, profering to be his capitaine and hys guyde for the entraunce of the cite. Therunto he added the killyng of his Embassadors, wherby they had violated and broken the lawe that all nacions obserued, and that there remained but onely one cite which stayed his victoꝝ. Therupon he diuided the worke amongest hys capitaynes, that euery one myght applie his owne bande, and so put the worke in bre, when he had once sufficiently encouraged his men. There were great plente of stones at hande of the mynes of the olde cite where Tyze stode before, and for the makynge of boates and towres timber was brought from the mouit Libanus. The worke did grow fro the bottome of the Sea lyke a mountayne, but not yet brought to the hygh water marke. And the further the Dere was wrought from the lande vnto the Sea warde, so muche the soner the Sea dyd swallowe vp the substance of thynges, wherof the same was made. Whyles the Macedons were thus about their worke, the Tiriās would come about them in small vessels, & geue them wordes of reproche and scoꝛne: as, they were nowe become goodly men of warre, that woulde be made pyoners and cary burdens like beastes vpo their backes. And they asked them also if they thought Alexander to be greater the the God of the Sea. But they reprofe dyd not hynder but encrease the cherefulness of the souldiours in theyꝝ payne and trauayle. In so much the Hole in a shorte space surmounted aboue the water and encreasing much in breadth, approached neare vnto

into the Citie. Then the Tyrians seeing the huge-
 nesse of the worke, in the increase wherof they sawe
 theymselues dysceyued, lyttle thinkinge that it woulde
 haue growen to suche a passe, in lyttle vessels came ro-
 wing about the Dere, and dyd driue the souldiers with
 shotte from their working, and because it laye in theym
 to bring theyr boates sodainlye forwarde, and retorne
 sone againe, they hurt many of the Macedons without
 anye daunger to themselves, enforcyng theym to leaue
 theyr worke, and fall to theyr owne defence. For reme-
 dye wherof, and to auoyde theyr enemyes shotte, they
 were compelled to stretche oute beastes skynnes vpon
 poles lyke sayles, and set those betwene the and theyr e-
 nemies. And besydes at the head of the Dere, they ray-
 sed vp two Towers from whence with shotte and ca-
 stynge of dartes, they kepte of the boates that came a-
 bout them. On the other syde the Tyrians would land
 with theyr boates farre out of the syghte of the campe,
 and kille suche as were carpyng of stones. The pea-
 saunts besydes of Arabye, dyd set vpon certayne Ma-
 cedons that were scattered abroade in the mounte Li-
 banus, where they slewe and toke diuers. That was
 one cause whiche moued Alexandre to diuylde hys ar-
 mye. And lest he myght seme to remayne ydlely about
 the siege of one Citie, he appointed Perdicas and Cra-
 terus to take the charge of the worke he had in hande,
 and wente into Arabia with suche parte of his power
 mooste apte for hys purpose. In the meane season the
 Tyrians prepared a greate shyppe laden with stones
 and grauell behynde, so that the foreparte floted aboue
 the water, which shyppe anoynted ouer with pitch and
 brimstone, they brought sodainly by saylinge a force of
 oares vnto the Dere, and there remayninge the mary-
 ners

Arabie.

ners set the shyp on fyre, and then leaped into boates which folowed after for the purpose. The shyp thus set on fyre so enflamed the wood worke perteyninge to the Dere, that before any rescue could come, the fyre had taken the towers of the Dere, & all the rest of the workes that were made in the head. When they that were leaped into the boates, sawe the matter take suche effecte, they put betwixt the tymbre & other voyde places, both fire brandes, and all suche thinges as might geue nourishment & encrease to the fyre: so that the towers and all the rest beyng on a flame, manye of the Macedons were consumed therewith, and the rest forsoke their armour and threwe them selues into the Sea. Then the Tirians that were moze desirous to take them on lyue, then to kyll them with staves and stones dyd so beate them on the handes as they were swimming, that for weries they were glad to be take by into their boates. The whole worke was not consumed with this fire onely. for it chaunced also the same daye a terrible wynde to ryse, which blowing out of the sea, broughte the waues with suche vyolence vpon the Hole, that with often beating of the Seas, the ioyntes that knyt the worke together, began to lose and leaue theyr holde. Then the water that washed through, brake downe the Hole in the myddes, so that the heapes of stones whiche were before susteyned by the timber and earth caste betwixt the once broken a sonder, the whole worke fell to ruine and was caried away into the deape sea. By that tyme Alexander was returned out of Arabye, and scarcely found any remaine or token, that any such worke had bene. In that case (as it is euer bled in thynges that chaunce euil) one layd the faulte vpon an other, whē in dede the violence of the sea was the cause of al. Alexander

der began to make the **Pere** agayne after a newe sorte, the head thereof lyeng into the weather and the wind, & not the open syde as it dyd before: So that the foze frōt alwayes defended the rest of the worke lyeng behynde. He encreased also the breadth thereof, to the intent that tow-
 ers might be builded in the middes of the **Pere**, wher-
 by they should be least subiect to the enemies shot. Whole trees were put into the sea with their toppes & braun-
 ches, and after great stones throwen vpon them. And ouer those a newe course of trees and stones agayne, by whiche deuyce this whole worke was ioyned and knit all in one. As the **Macedons** were busye to bryng their worke forwarde, so the **Tirians** were as diligent to inuent all such thinges, as might geue impedimēt to their proceeding. Their chiefe practise was for a num-
 bre of them to entre into the Sea a farre of out of the **Macedons** sight, and so come diuyng vnder the water tyll they came vnto the **Pere**, where with hookes they would pull vnto them the braunches of the trees that appeared out of the stones, wherby the stones and the other substance folowed after into the deape. For the trees beinge dyscharged of their burden were easelye drawen away, and then the foundatiō failing, the whole worke that stayed vpon the trees fell to ruine. Amonges these impedimentes Alexander stode in great perplexitie of mynd, doubting whether he should continue the siege styll, or els depart bys waye. When he was in this ymaginacion, sodaynely his nauye arriued from **Cyprus**, and **Cleander** also with suche souldiours as he had brought oute of **Greece**. And hauing to the num-
 bre of .C.lxxx. shippes, diuided the into two battailes, wherof he committed the one vnto **Pythagoras** the
 kyng of **Cyprus**, and to **Craterus**, and toke charge of
 the

A newe **Pere**
 made after an
 other sorte.

Pythagoras
 kyng of **Cy-**
prus.

Arctes.

A tempest.

the other him selfe, committing his owne person in a Ga-
ley called Cinquereme, which had fve oares on a bāk.
The Tirians durst not adventure p sea fyght although
they had a great nauy, but set all their galeis in a fronte
befoze the walles of their citie, which the king assailed
and put to distres. The next daye the Macedons with
their shippes enuironed the citie round about, and did
beate downe the walles, speciallye with suche engines
as they call Arctes. But the Tirians streight way re-
forced and made bp their walles agayne with stones p
laye at hand, and rayled bp an inward wall round a-
bout within the Citie, whiche myght be their defence
if the other sayled. But their destruction approached on
euery syde, the Hole was wrought within the cast of a
darte, and the shippes gaue the approche round about
the walles, so that they were overlaid bothe by Sea
and by lande. The Macedons had deuysed to ioyne
their galeys two and two together, in suche sorte that
the forepartes mette close befoze, and the hinder partes
laye farre of one from the other. And ouer the spaces
remaining betwixt puppe and puppe, they made bryd-
ges with mastes and maine yardes layed betwixt Ga-
ley and Galey fast bounde together to carpe souldiers
vpō. When they had put their galeis in thys ozdre, they
set forwardes towardes the Citie. And hauyng ram-
pyred the prozes for defence of the souldiers that were
behynd, they stode in the Galeys and dyd shoote and
cast dattes agaynst theyr enemies without any peryl or
daunger to themselues. It was mydnight when they
had commaundement to set forwardes after the ma-
ner. As the shippes were approachinge on all partes,
and the Tirians stode astonyed for feare and desper-
ation: sodaynelye the skye was ouerwhelmed with

Dynmure

dimme clowdes, & a sodaine darkenes toke aboape the
 lyght. Then the sea by lyttell a litell waxed terrible and
 rough, the wynde blew raylyng vp the waues, and
 did beate the shippes one agaynst another: the vyo-
 lence wherof burst a sonder the bandes and graspers
 wherwyth the gales were fastened togethers. Which
 done the bridges crashed and clewe asunder, and wyth
 the souldiers that stood vpon them fell into the Sea.
 There was greate confusion, for the shippes entanglyd
 thus together, could by no meanes be gouerned in such
 a tempest, the souldiers disturbing the reate of the ma-
 riners, and the maryners gyuyng impediment to the
 offyce of the souldyers. Thus (as yt doth oiten happen
 in such case) the expert were obedient to the ignoraunt,
 for the shyppe maisters that were wont to commaunde:
 then for feare of death were dyrected by other: But
 at length by force of rowyng the gales rescouered the
 shoure, the more parte of them beyng broken and toren.
 It chaunced at the same tyme. xxx. Embassadours to
 come from Carthage to Tyre, who gaue meze comfort
 then assystance to them that were besyged. For they
 shewed howe the Carthagens were so assayled wyth
 warre at theyr owne doores, that they could by no mea-
 nes send them succour. In so muche as the Syracu-
 sans were burnyng in Aphrike, and had encamped the
 selues vnder the verye walles of Carthage. The Ty-
 rians yet were not dyscomyted, for all that they were
 dysapoynted of theyr special trust, but despyced vnto
 those Embassadours theyr wyues and theyr chyldren
 to carie vnto Carthage, thinking to endure more stout-
 ly the syege, if the thynges whych were most deare vnto
 them were remoued out of daunger. There was
 a Tyrian whych in an open assemblie declated that Al-

pollo (whom the Tyrians greatly do worshype) had appeared to hym in his slepe, seming to him that he had forsaken the Citie, and transformed the Hole that the Macedons had made into a greate woode. Hereupon though the auctoz were of small credite, yet forasmuche as men in feare be apte to beleue the worst, they tyed fast Apollos Image with a golden cheyne, and bound fast also the aulter of Hercules (to whom the Cytie was dedicate) thynkyng by deteynyng of the one, to kepe skyll the other. The Carthagens in tymes paste had brought that Image from Siracuse, and had placed it in the hed Citie, out of the which they were descended. For their custome was to adourne Tyre wythe suche spoiles as they had taken, no lesse then they dyd Carthage it selfe. They at y^e time woulde also haue bene auctours vnto the Tirians for the renuing of an olde sacrifice that had bene omitted many yeares, wherein they vsed to offre vp to Saturne a free bozne chylde. Whiche beyng rather a sacrilege then a sacrifice, the Carthagens receiued of theyr fyrst founders, a skyll obserued the same, till theyr citie was destroyed. And but y^e the auncient men by whom all thynges were gouerned had wythstand it, thys wicked supersticyon had taken place, which nature and humanitie doth abhorre. The necessitie that was hanging ouer theyr heades, beyng more effectuell then any arte or science, practised not onelye such thynges as were accustomed for defences, but also founde out that was neuer inuented before. For to the disturbaunce of the shippes that approached the walles, they deuised long rafters, to the which they fastened grapples of Iron and great hookes like lutes, which letten downe with ropes by an engyne, eyther tare the shippes or destroyed the men. They inuented also

also Targettes of metall to be made fyre hote, in the whych they put burnyng sand, & scaldyng lyne, & then poured the same downe vpon the Macedons that came neare the walles, beyng a myschynse that they feared moste of all other. For when the hote sande entred betwene the harneis and the body, there was no meanes to auoyde it awaie: and where it touched it burned to the bones, so that they were enforced to throwe awaye their harneys, and teare awaye all thynges they had vpon theyr bodies. Thereby they became subiecte to be hurte by their enemies, and were not in case to endamage them agayne. But specially the grasples letten downe (called Corui) toke violentlye away many of the souldiers & were within & shypes. Alexander seynge the obstinate defence of the Tyrians, was werye of the matter, and determyned to rayse hys siege, and go vnto Egypt. For considering in howe short a space he had subdued Asia, it greued hym to be deteyned so longe about the walles of one citie, whereby he omytted the occasyon and oportunitie of greater thynges in the meane season. But he was asynuche ashamed to departe without hys purpose, as to remaine there and leaue other thynges vndone: iudgyng that if he should leue Tyre after that sorte, as a witnes that he myghte be withstand, it should much impaire hys fame, wherewith he had gotten more then wylh force. And it chaunced at the same tyme a monster of an excedyng bygnes to appeare aswell in the syghte of the Tyrians as the Macedons, which lyeng vpon hys back aboue & water came towarde & Mole, and when he had beaten the water and lyfted vp hym selfe at the head of the Mole, dyued vnder the water agayne, sometyme appearynge aboue & sometime hiding hym selfe vnderneath, wher he

came neare the walles of the Citie banished oute of syghte. The syght of thys monster reioysed bothe parties, the Macedons enterpretynge the same to bee sent them as a guide for their dyrectyon to furnishe out the worke and the Tyrians diuining that Neptune in reuenging the vsurpacion that the Macedons had made vpon the sea, woulde shortly destroy the worke that they had made, in such lyke sorte as he had taken away the monster. They vpon their own imagynacion, conceiued suche a gladnes, and prognosticated to them selues such good fortune, that they fell to banquetynge and drynkyng. And when they were well charged with wine, at the sonne rising they set garlandes of flowers vpon their heades, and mounted into theyr galleis, not onely with hope of victoery, but with a triumphe made before hand. It chaunced at the same tyme that Alexander had conueyed his nauie to the contrary side of Citie, and lefte vpon the shoore. xxx. of the smallest vessels, of the which the Tyrians caught two, and put the rest in daunger of distredynge, vntyll suche tyme as they hearing the alarime, sette forwardes with hys nauie towardes that part where the skrye was heard. The firste Galeye of the Macedons that came nere them was a quinquere, the swyftest of all the rest, whiche when the Tyrians espied, they came agaynst her with two galleis crosse vpon her side: wherof the one strake full with her Spurne with whom the cinquere graped and the other which was loost and at libertie fell vpon her contrarie syde. But lest betwixt them two she myght susteyne some domage, one of Alexanders Tryremes came to the rescue wyth suche violence, that the mayster of the lose galley was stryken into the sea.

When the Tyrians sawe Alexander was come hym selfe,

selfe, and moze of hys shypes at hande, then wyth strength of ozes and great difficultie, they set theyr galeye that was entangled lose agayne and at lybertye, makynge towarde the hauen wyth all the haste they myght. Alexander immediatlye, pursued them, but when he came to the hauen he coulde not enter, but was beaten of with shot from the walles: yet he did take and drowne the moze parte of theyr galeyes.

After this aduventure he rested hys souldyers two daies and then willed hys shypes to be brought forwarde and the engines in them, to the intent that by assailing the Tyrians on al sides, he myght put them in extreme feare. Alexander with a wonderfull courage not without great perill vnto hys person, mounted vp into the toppe of a towre that was made in a shyppe, and there knowne by hys appaile and ryche armour, was chiefly layde at, and shot to from all partes. He wroughte wonderfull feates wyth hys owne person. for bothe with hys pyke he slewe diuers that stode at defence, and afterwarde fought hande to hande with hys sword and hys target throwing diuers downe from their defence. for the towre wherein he fought ioyned hard to the walles. By that tyme the engynes called Arietes wyth muche beatynge had stryken downe the walles, the nauie was gote within the hauen, & certeyne of the Macedons had wonne the towers. The Tyrians then oppressed with so many miseries at once were cleane discōfited: Some fled for succour vnto þe temples, some did shut theyr doores, takynge that kynde of death they lyked beste. And other ran vpon theyr enemyes to sell theyr liues dere. But þe moze part gote vp into þe toppes of their houses, & from thence did cast downe vpon theyr enemyes whatsoeuer came vnto their hādes. Alexander

The beginning
of Tyre.

commaunded al to be slaine without exception, sauing
such as fled into þ temples, & willed the houses to be set
on fier. Though that were proclaymed throughout the
Citie, yet there was none bearing armour that woulde
saue them selues that way. For as the women and chil-
dren filled the temples, so the men kept the entries of
their houses, redie to abide þ crueltie of their enemyes.
Yet the Sidonians were þ occasiõ that many were sa-
ued who seruing in the warres amoges the Macedõs
and entering the Citie wyth the reste, were myndefull
of theyr affinitie wyth the Tyrians (Agenor beyng
builder of both theyr Cityes) and conueyed many into
theyr shippes, whiche they sent priuely vnto Sydon.
By that meanes fiftene thousande escaped the crueltie
of the sworde. The nombze of them that were slayne
may partely be coniectured, in that there were founde
dead within the Citie sixe thousande of suche as bare
armour. The Kynges wrathe towardes the Citie
made the syght dolorous vnto the victozers. For two
thousande whom the furze of the slaughter had lefte
on liue, were afterwarde hanged vpon crosses along
the sea coaste. The Embassadors of the Carthagens
were saued, but they thzetned to make warre against
them, from the whyche he was then letted by other
busines he had in hande. Thus Tyre was taken
the .vii. moneth after it was besieged, a Citie notable
to the posteritie, aswell through the antiquitie it was
of, as also by the often chaunge of fortune that it had
suffred. It was buylded by Agenor, and manye
peres was mayster of the seas, not only neare there a-
bout, but in all places where as theyr nauyes came.
And if we lyst to credite the same, That Citie was the
firste whiche either taught or learned letters. They
buylded

Agenor.

Notable re-
venge
The breach of
the lawe of
armes.

buylded Cityes and put in them inhabitants throughe
 out the more partes of the worlde, bothe Carthago in
 Atryke, Thebes in Boecia, and Gades in Spayne
 vpon the Ocean. It is to be thought that by reason
 of their free recourse through all seas, and by visytinge
 of many straunge countreies, they had occasion to choose
 out Seates to place in their youthe, whereof they then
 habounded. Or els as some write the inhabitants were
 ed to dwell there by reason of many earthequakes, were
 compelled of force to seke out straunge dwellinge pla-
 ces. But after manie casualties that happened vnto
 Tyre, after the destruction newly renued, and all
 thinges growen agayne through long peace, remaineth
 nowe vnder the defence of the Romaines Clemency.
 About the same tyme Alexander receiued letters from
 Darius, wherein at laste he was contented to name
 hym kynge. Hys requeste was that Alexander would
 receyue hys daughter Saptyme for hys wife, with whō
 he offered in dower all the countrey betwene Hellespont
 and the Riuer of Mys, and would reserve vnto hym
 selfe onelye suche kyngdomes, as laye from thence
 Eastwarde. And if peradventure he shoulde stycke to
 receyue thys offre, he willed hym to consider that for-
 tune is not wonte to continue longe in one estate,
 and that the greater felicitie men haue, the greater en-
 uye dothe folowe them. It was to be doubted (he
 sayed) lest he exalted him selfe through some vayne &
 childishe affectyon, lyke as byrdes vse to do, whose
 naturall lightnes conuey them to the starres. For there
 was nothing more difficulte in so yonge yeares, then to
 beare well such height and greatnes of fortune. He
 willed hym also to consider that there remained yet
 many countreys that he had not touched, and that he

The contentes
 of Darius
 letters.

Should not alwayes mete him in streightes, hauynge to passe the Ryuers of Euphrates, Tygre, Araxes, and Hydaspes, which were as bulwarkes vnto his dominiō, & when that he should come vnto the plaines, he should be ashamed of hys smalle numbze. He put him in remembrance to weye howe longe it shoulde be or he coulde passe Media, Hircania, Bactria, and the Indians, that bordered on the Ocean Sea. And likewise the Sogdians and Arachosians of whom men haue none other knowledge the of their name, with other nacions lyng towards the mount Caucasus, and the Ryuer of Tanais. Though no man shoulde let hym noz offer hym battaile, yet he shoulde growe in age (he sayed) befoze he coulde passe so many landes. In the latter ende he aduysed hym to call hym no moze forwarde. for he woulde come sone inough, and that to hys destructyon. Alexander made aunswere to those letters by the messengers that brought them: in effect that Darius offred to hym that was none of hys owne, and made a profer to geue that he had all readye loste. For Lydia, Ionia, Aeolides, and the coaste of Hellespont, whyche he appoynted in dowze, weare al readye become the rewardes of his vitory. And as for lawes & condicions, those were wont to bee geuen and appoynted by the victours, & receiued of suche as were ouercome. And if he were ignoraunt in which of those two estates he were in, that he shoulde come of, and aduenture the battayle once agayne. For he was not ignoraunt (he sayed) befoze he passed the Sea howe Lidia, and Cilicia were ouer small rewardes, for the makynge of such a warre. But hys determination was euer to subdue and bring vnder hys subiection, both Percepolis the chiefe citie of hys kyngdome, and also Bactria, and Chatania with the

The effect of
Alexanders
aunswere.

the uttermost boundes of the Orient. He coulde flee no where but he was hable to folowe: and therfore counsayled him that he shoulde leaue to feare hym with riuers, which had learned howe to passe seas. Thus the kinges did write one to an other: & in the meane seasō þe Rhodians yelded their citie & their haueu vnto Alexander, who comitted the rule of Cilicia vnto Socrates, and the countrey about Tyze vnto Philotas: Andromachus was made Parmenio his deputy in Caele Syria from whence Alexander myndynge to set forwarde to the rest of his tourney, commaunded Ephesion that with his nauye he shoulde sayle a longe the coaste of Phenices, and so he came with his whole power to the citie of Gaza. About the same tyme there were solcenne tryumphes and playes at Istimos, accustomed to be celebrated with the assbly of all Greece. In the counsell (as þe wits of þe Greekes be sodain) they decreed to send xii. Embassadours vnto Alexander for the caryeng vnto him a crowne of golde, in gratifieng þe victoꝝy he had won, & the actes he had done for the safegarde & libertie of Greece, & yet a litle befoze they harkened how the fama went, & wer ready to bend þe way that fortune enclined. Alexander visited not in person all such countreis & cities as refused to doe their obedience vnto hym, but made conquest of them by his deputies. For Cales toke Daphlagonia, Antigonus Liconia, & Balacrus ouercame Idarne Darius lieutenant, and wan Miletū. Amphitous & Egilochus with a nauye of a.C. and. lx. shippes subdued al the Ilandes betwene Asia, and Achaia. And also by the consent of the inhabiteurs gotte Tenedon, which alwaies was a receptacle to the Persians. They were at the poynte to haue gotten Scio, but that Pharnabalus Darius deputye hauing intelligence

ligence of the matter, dyd firste appzehende all suche as were of the Macedons faction, and committed the citie with a smal guarrison to Appollodines and Anthenagozas that were enclyned to the Persians. Alexanders capitaines for all thys continued the siege of the citie still, not so much in truste of theyr owne strength, as in hope of the faction they had within the Citie. In whiche poynte they were not deceyued. For thzoughe a sedicion whiche dyd arysle betwene Appollodines and the capitaines of the men of warre, occasion was ministred vnto the Macedons to entre the towne. When the gate was broken vp, and a band of Macedons entered, then the citisens whiche befoze had deuysed to rebell againste the Persians, toke parte with Amphiterus & Egilocus, so that the guarrison of the Persians were slayne, and Pharnabalus with Appollodines and Anthenagozas taken prisoners. There were xii. galeyes taken with their souldiours and rowers, besydes xxx. shyppes and vessels of Pirates, with thzee thousand Greekes that were in wages with the Persians, with whom the Greekes furnished bp theyr owne bandes, and put the Pyrates to death, bestowing p rowers in their owne galeys. It chaunced that Aristonicus the usurper of Methyna ignorant of anye suche matter as was chaunced in the foreparte of the nyght, came with certayne Pirates shyppes to enter into the haven, who when the watch demaunded what he was, he sayed: he was Aristonicus, and came to the succour of Pharnabalus. They answered he was at rest and could not then be spoken toithal, but it should be lawfull for him (they said) being their frend to enter into p hauen for p night, & speake with him whe it was day. Aristonicus was the first that entered, & the Pirates folowed him.

Aristonicus

him. But whiles they placed their Shippes, the watchemen drew the chayne agayn ouer the haue, and then called vp suche as laye there nere about, so that none of them durst resist, but were all takē prisoners, and so deliuered to Amphiterus and Egilochus. Fro thence the Macedons passed to Mytelene, whiche was kepte by *Mytelene.* Chares of Athens with a guarrison of two thousande Persians: but whē hē was not hable to endure y^e siege, he yelded vp the Citie with composition to haue they^r lyues saued, and to departe in sauegard vnto Imbros. *Imbros.* Darius dispaitynge of peace, whiche he had p^rocured both by hys letters, and Embassadours, gaue his mind to assemble a newe power, and freshelye to renue the warre. Therfore he commaunded the capitaynes and rulers of hys men to assemble at Babilon, & that Bessus gouernour of the Bactrians, shoulde come thether with al the power he could make. The Bactrians be *Bactrians.* y^e most hardiest people emōges those nations, vnciuil mē, & much abhorring from the delicatnes of the Persians. For by reasoⁿ y^e they border vpoⁿ the Scythians, whiche be a warlyke nacion, they are accustomed to lyue by thefte, and be conuersaunt continuallye in armes. But Bessus that was suspecte of treason that he woulde not be content with the seconde place, put Darius in great doubte: Who hauing an unkyng that he aspyzed to be kyng, feared only his treason, hauing no other waye to bring hys purpose to passe. Alexander wroughte all the wayes he could to obteyne knowledg where Darius was become, and into what contrey he was gone. And yet coulde not get any intelligence, by reason of a custome emonges the Persians, which are wont with a marueylous fidelitie to kepe close their Princes secretes: in the vttering wherof, neither feare of death,

The laues-
nes of the
tounge puni-
shed with the
Persians.

The siege
of Gaza.

nor hope of reward can cause them bryng furth a word. This was a goodly disciplyne that þe kinges there had of olde time vled emōges their subiectes, in punysshing with losse of lyie the lauesnes of the tounge, whiche is there more greuoulye chastised then any other cryme. Nor there is not in those partes any goodnes looked for at anye mans handes, that hath not the gyfte of secret-nes, wherof nature hath geuen a facilitie in man. This was the cause that Alexander was ignoraunte of all thinges that his enemies dyd, and therfore continued his siege before Gaza. Betis was Capitayne there, who was a man of a notable fidelitie towards his prynce, whiche with a small guarison defended the citie that was of a large compasse. Wherfore Alexander perceiuyng the aduantage of the Situacion, set manye mynes in hande. For the lyghtnes of the grounde made the worke easye, hauyng neyther rockes nor stones to geue any impediment. They began their mynes on that side, where they within could not destroy them. And to auoyde the suspicion of anye such worke in hande, caused an approche to be made to the walles with towers that he had made of tymbre. But the grounde would not serue for theyr carying and remo-uyng, by reason of the losenes of the lande, wherinto the wheles sonke, & was the cause that the ioyntes of the towers brake a sonder. Aboute the conueyaunce of them manye were hurte, and as much trouble they had in withdrabing of them, as in setting them for wardes. When he perceyued he coulde not preuaile by that meanes, he retired again his men for that time. But the next daye he enuironed the citie round aboute to geue the assaulte in euerye parte at once, and before he returned oute of his campe, made sacrifice after his countrey

countrey maner, requirynge the ayde of the goddes. It chaunced as he was so doyng, that a Rauen flyeng by, let fall a clodde (whiche she caried in her clawes) vpon the kynges head, where it brake & resolued in peaces. And the Rauen flew vnto the next towre, where her feathers were so entangled with pitche at her lyting, that she could not flye awaye, but was taken of the standers there aboutes. This was thoughte a matter worthe wherupon the diuiners should consulte. for he hym selfe was not free fro the superstition of such thinges. Therefore Aristander to whom he gaue most credit, dyd interpret the same to be a signe of the destruction of that citie, but yet there was some perill (he saied) appearing towarde his kynges person: for which cause he perswaded Alexandre that he should not go about anye enterpryse that day. Though it greued him much that one citie should be a staye and impediment vnto him for his free passage into Egypt, yet he obeyed the prognosticators and caused all his men to retyre. The enemies toke courage of their departure, and thinkyng feare to haue bene the cause why they came not forwarde, sayled oute of the Citie and sette vpon theyr taylor. But they were more fierce in the beginninge of the skymyshe, then constaunt in maynteyning of the same. for when they sawe the Macedons turne about, they stayed and pursued no further. Alexandre hearing the alarm, and remembryng nothyng the perill that was prophcyed vnto him, at his frendes requeste put on his harnes (whiche he was seldome accustomed to doe) and resorted thether where the skymyshe was mooste hote. There he was knowen by a certayne Arabian that was one of Darius souldiours, whiche toke vpon hym a desperate enterpryse to kille Alexandre, and therfore

ma:

makynge hys pzetence to be as a fugitiue from the
 Persians, kepte his sworde secret vnderneath hys tar-
 get, and fell downe on his knees before hym. Who
 iudging that he had fled to him for succour, willed hym
 to be receiued emonges hys owne men. But the Ara-
 bian therewithal strake at þe king with his sword, which
 he by a litle steppynge asyde, auoyded from hys throte
 and cutte of the Arabians hande that myiled of hys
 stroke. Alexander then iudged that he had cleane es-
 caped the perill that should haue chaunced to hym that
 daye, but (as I thynke) destenye can not be auoyded:
 for whyles he was eger to fyght emonges the forme-
 ste, he was stricken with an arrowe, whiche passed through
 his Corselet, and dyd stycke in hys shoulder. Philip his
 Physicion dyd plucke it out, and great abundaunce of
 bloude did folowe, wherof euery man was afrayed, for
 so muche as they neuer sawe an arrowe passe so farre
 through anye armour before. But he neuer chaunged
 countenaunce nor couler, but causynge the bloude to be
 stanchd and his wound to be wzapt vp, continued stil
 in the skyrme the emongest the forme-
 ste, cyther suffryng
 or dyssemblyng hys payne and dolour. But when the
 bloud that was stayed for the tyme braste out agayne
 and the wound which for the newies greued hym not
 muche, began to swelle and rancle as the bloude waxed
 colde, then he began to faynte and fall downe, and
 was taken vp by suche as were next hym, and carryed
 into hys tent. Betis that perceiued this, supposing
 hym to be slayne, retyzed vnto the Citie agayne with
 great ioye and tryumphe. But Alexanders wounde
 beyng yet vnhaled, he caused a mount to be caste vp
 as hygh as the toppe of the walles, and the walles to
 be caste downe in dyuers places by the myners. But
 they

they within made a countermure as hyghe as the olde
 walle: yet that could not stretch to the heyghte of the
 toores made vpon the mount, so that the inner partes
 of the Citie were subiecte to shotte. But a myne wher-
 at the wall was ouerthrowen, & a breache made wher-
 with the Macedons dyd entre, was the vtter losse of
 towne where as Alexander pressyng on emonges the
 foremost aduenturously, had hys leg hurt with a stone. The wounding of Alexander.
 That notwithstanding, he mounted vp by helpe of hys
 weapon (his former wound yet vncloused) and foughte
 emonges the formoste, beyng in a greate furye, that in
 the siege of that one citie, he had receiued two woundes.
 Betis that had foughte notablie, and receyued dyuers
 hurtes, was forsake of his owne men, and yet notwith-
 standyng maintained still the fyght, and had all his ar-
 mour embzued with his owne bloude and hys ene-
 myes. But when he was enclosed round aboute, then
 Alexander whiche was wont to wonder at the vertue
 of his enemies, puffed vp with a ioyfull pryde, sayed
 vnto him: Betis thou shalt not dye as thou wouldest
 thy selfe, but whatsoeuer tormentes may be inuented,
 thinke that thou shalt suffer them. For all his wordes
 there appeared in Betis no token of feare, but behelde
 the kyng with an arrogant countenance, and woulde
 not aunswere him one worde. Then Alexander sayed:
 see you not how obstinate he is to holde hys peace: he
 would not knele, nor once desyre mercye. But growyng
 shall breake his sylence, if nothyng els can do it. Thus
 hys fortune alteryng his nature, chaunged him into
 straunge maners, and turned his wrath into wodnes.
 For he causyng cordes to be put through Betis feete
 whyles he was a lyue dyd drawe hym about the citie
 with horses, glozieng in that he did counterfayt Achilles
 (of

The death
 of Betis.

(of whom he was descendid) in afflictynge of hys enemye. There were slaine of the Persians and Arabians ten thousande, and the victorie was not vnbloodily vnto the Macedons. Thys siege was not so famous through the nobilitie of the Citie, as it was by the double daunger the kynge was in: Which making haste to passe into Egypt, sent Amyntas with ten Galies into Macedon, to leuie more souldiers. For though he were alwayes victorour in prosperous battailes, yet his men were diminished, and he trusted not so muche to the souldiours of those countreyes he had subdued, as he did to his owne nation. Egyptians be a people that alwayes were offended with the increase of good fortune of the Persians, who in theyr gouernement ouer them, vsed muche pryde and couetousnes: And therefore seeking all occasions to reuolte, had receyued Amyntas, whiche came to them rather by way of treatie then by any force: and now specially at Alexandres comming plucked vp their spirites and assembled a great number to meete him at Pelusium, wher they iudged he would entre. The seuenth day he remoued from Gaza, he came to that place in Egypte, which nowe is called Alexandres campe, from whence he sent hys armye vnto Pelusium by the land waye, and he hymselfe with a choise bande of men was conueyed thither vpon the Riuer of Nile. The Persians durste not abyde his comming, being in doubt that the Egyptians would reuolte. And therefore when Alexandre drew neare vnto Memphis, where Astaces Darius lieutenant was with a power of men of warre, he came ouer the Riuer to meete Alexandre, and yealdynge hym selfe, deliuered him. viii. C. talentes, with all the riches belongynge to the kynge of Persie. From Memphis he passed vpon

Egyptians.

Alexander
entred into
Egypte.

Memphis.

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the same River vnto the inwarde partes of Egypt, and
 set a staie and order in the gouernement of þe countrey
 in such sort, that he chaunged nothyng of theyr lawes
 and customes. Which thinge once brought to passe, he
 had a great desire to visite the Oracle of Jupiter Hā-
 mon. But it was declared vnto hym that the waye he
 had to go was not passable wyth eny great numbze,
 and that those ought to be lighte, and trimmed, mete to
 iourney wythout baggage or much cariage. The coun-
 trey he had to trauaile throughe was saied to be spread
 ouer al with bareine lande, which once put in an heate
 with the sunne, woulde burne their feete in suche sort,
 that it shoulde be intolerable for them to iourney. And
 had to contend not onely wyth the heate and wante of
 water, but also wyth the rowlyng lande, whyche was
 so deape, and woulde so sinke vnder their feete, that it
 shoulde be great impedymment vnto theyr trauayle. All
 whyche difficulties the Egyptians set fourth to be grea-
 ter then they were in deade. But alexander for the de-
 syre he had to excede mans estate, was so feruently bent
 to visite that famous Oracle of Jupiter, whom cyther
 he beleued, or coueted that other shoulde beleue to bee
 his father, that nothing coulde staie him in performing
 of that enterpryse. Therefore wyth suche as he had ap-
 pointed to accompanye him in that iourney, passed by
 water vpon Nile til he came to the Meare of Meotes.
 The embassadours of the Cirenians came to hym thi-
 ther & brought him presentes, whome he gently enter-
 teyned, assuring the of his frendship. And þe doone went
 forwarde in his voiage. The first and þe second dayes
 trauaile learned tolerable, not beinge yet come to the
 barraine and wilde wildernes, and yet þe ground they
 passed on was but vnfruitful & dead earth. But when þe

The Cyreni-
 ans,

plaines appeared that were couered ouer with deape
land, they then looked and sought a farre of wyth theyr
eyes for the land, euē as men be accustomed to do when
they saile in the mayne Sea. For they coulde not iudge
them selues on lande, where they neuer sawe tree nor
any appearance of habitation or haūt of men. And wa-
ter there was none to be found in that drye and burnyng
land, and such as they had brought with thē in bottels
vpon camelles backs, was consumed and spent. Be-
sides the sunne was so hotte that it dyled and burned
vp all thynges. When they were afflicted after thys
maner, whither it were by the wyll of god, or by chaūce,
the cloudes sodenly ouerwhelmed the skye, and so sha-
dowed them, that it was great comfort to suche as were
forweryed w. th the heate, though they wanted water
to drynke. But to supplie their lacke therein there fel by
and by a great shoure which euery man (for the greate
desire they had to drynke) gaped to receyue wyth open
mouth. When they had traueiled foure daies in passyng
of these wilde desertes, and were come neere vnto the
place of the oracle, there appeared a great swarme of
Crows flynge lowe befoze the troupe, and when the
hoste marched softly, they sat downe vpon the grounde,
and sometyme flew forwarde, as they had bene gui-
des to shewe vnto tharinye the waye. At length they
came vnto the place consecrate vnto Jupiter, where
as it was a wonder to se in the myddes of so wyld a de-
sert such a ground so enuironed on al partes with high
trees, defendinge the heate of the sunne, & suche a nūbre
of spriges rūning euery where: which cause the woodes
alwayes to looke greene. The ayer there all seasons
of the yeare is like vnto the springe tyme, holesome and
temperate to lyue in. Thys countrey doth border with
the

The descrip-
cion of Ham-
mon.

the Ethiopes towardes the East, and vpon þe Arabies Ethiopes, that they call Troglodites vpon the south: whole countrey stretcheth to the read sea. It confineth wyth other Ethiopes that he called Simnos. Towardes þe north lieth a nacion called Rasamons, who inhabiting vpon a flat shoze, be accustomed to liue on spoiles of the sea, & lye alwayes in a wayte vpon the coste to spoyle such ships as suffre wrecke. The people which inhabyte about the woode, be called Ammonians, & dwel in cottages scatered abrode. The middes of theyr woode closed about with a triple wall, is vnto the as a Castle. In the fyrst ward is the Palacc of their auncient Kynges, in the seconde their wyues, children, and concubines were lodged, in which place the Oracle of Jupiter is also. And the thirde is a place appointed for the men of warre. There is also an other wood hauing in the middes a sprynge called the fountaine of the sonne, whyche in the morning is luke warme, in the heate of the daye it is colde, and in the euenynge warme agayne: so that at mydnight it is scaldynge hoate, and as it draweth towardes daye, it diminisheth his heate more and more. The same thinge that is worshipped for Jupiter, hath not the similitude of other Images that craftes men do make for goddes, but is very like vnto the fashion of a naue, hauing in the middes an Emeraude set about with pearles. When any answer is required, þe priestes carpe the same in a ship of gold, & hath many plates of siluer hanging on both sides. The matrones & the virgins folowe after singinge a rude songe after theyr countrey maner, wherby they beleue to obteyne of Jupiter to shewe hys Oracle manifest and true. When Alexander was come vnto the place, the eldest of the priestes whiche came to meete him saluted hym by the

The description
of the
Idoll.

The flattery
of the pro-
phets.

A digression.

name of Jupiters sonne: whose mynde (he sayd) was þ
he should so be called. Wherupō Alexander forgettyng
the state of his mortalitie, said: that he both did receyue
& acknowledge þ name. Then he demaunded further,
if the empire of the whole world were appoynted to hym
by destinie. Therethe prophet prepared befoze to flat-
ter, answered: that the whole world should come vn-
der hys obeylaunce. After that he demaunded whether
all suche had suffered death that murthered hys fa-
ther. The prieste answered, that hys father coulde not
be harmed by the treason of any man, but he sayde: that
all Philips kylles were put to death. And one thyng
he added moze: that he should be invincible tyll suche
time as he should departe to the goddes. Thereupon
Alexander made sacrifice, and both offered vnto the
Idol, and gaue greate giftes vnto the priestes. He ly-
censed also hys frendes that they myght consult of the
Oracle, for such thynges as they would demaunde.
Yet they enquired no further: but if it were Jupiter
his wil, that they should worshyp theyr kyng woth di-
uine honours. To them it was answered: that if they
honoured their prince being victor as a god, it shuld
be acceptable vnto Jupiter. If he had with iudgement
wayed the Oracle accordynge to the veritie, he should
well haue perceyued the vnturthe that was therein:
but whome fortune hath brought to beleue in her, she
maketh them in any times moze desirous of glozy, then
able to receyue it. Alexander not only suffered, but also
commaunded hym selfe to be called the sonne of Jupy-
ter, and whiles he wente aboute to encrease the fame
of hys actes, he dyd corrupt and deface them thzoughe
such bayne titles. Wherby the Macedons accustomed
to be gouerned by kynges, but yet rescruyng a greater
Shadowe

shadowe of libertie then other nacions, did wythstande hym moze arrogantly in affectyng of hys immortalitie, then was either expediente for hym or thenr: but these thinges shalbe declared in tyme conuenient: for now I will procede in the rest of hys dooings. When Alexander was returned from Hammon, and come to the marthe of Marcotes, situate neare vnto the Isle of Pharos, viewed the nature of the place, and was at the first determined to build a Citie within the Islande. But afterwarde considering the Isle not to be large enough, chose out the grounde where Alexandria is now (called by the name of the builder) conteynig all that grounde betwene $\frac{1}{2}$ Meare and $\frac{1}{2}$ sea, the which was in cōpasse as the walles went. lxxx. furlonges. When he had take ordze for building of this Citie, leuving such behind him as he had appointed for the performāce therof, departed vnto Memphis. He had a desire (not vnrasonable if it had ben in tyme conuenient) to haue visited both $\frac{1}{2}$ inward partes of Egypt, & also Ethiopia. And $\frac{1}{2}$ affectiō he had to biewe antiquities, and $\frac{1}{2}$ famous places of Memnon and Titon, had neare drawē him beyond the boundes of the sunne. But the warres he had in hande being of much moze moment thē any such idle peregrynacion, gaue him no tyme to fulfil his phantasie. Therefore he appoynted Nestilus a Rodyan, and Peucestes a Macedon to $\frac{1}{2}$ gouernance of Egypt, assigning to thē iiii. thousand souldiers for defence of $\frac{1}{2}$ region, and gaue Polymen. xxx. galeies to kepe the mouth of Nile. He made Apollonius ruler of that part of Africk, which ioyneth vnto Egypte, and Cleomenes receiuer of the tributes in both countreis. Thys newe Citie was soone replenished wyth a greate multitude. for commaundement was geuen to all the Cities theraboutes, to sende

The buildg
of Alexandria

Memnon.
Titon.

Nestilus.
Peucestes.

Cleomenes.

The Ruer
of Nile.

The death of
Hector Bar-
menios sonne

Androma-
chus burned
by the Sa-
maritans.

Methinians.

inhabiters vnto Alexandria. It is saide that when the
kyng accordinge to the Macedons custome bled the
ceremony of steaping barlye, at the makynge of þe wal-
les, that the birdes came and fed there vpon: which be-
yng take of many for an vnlucky tokē: it was answered
by theyr diuiners, þe there shuld be great resort of straū-
gers to that citie, and that it shoulde giue nourishment to
many landes. As the king went downe the riuer of Nile
Hector Barmenio his sonne desierous to folow hym,
was drowned: for the vessel sonke þe caried him, beyng
pestred with ouer many men. He strued long wyth the
streame: but his garmentes gaue impedymēt to hys
swymmyng, so þe his breath was neare gone before he
could recouer the shore, where for want of succoure he
died. Whose vnfortunate chaunce Alexander take gre-
uously, as one þe did beare him special fauour, and ther-
fore caused his bodie to be honorably buried. The death
of Andromachus lieutenant of Siria, whom the Sa-
maritans had burned, was encrease of Alexanders sor-
row, for the reuengement whereof he made all the haste
he might, and at his cōming into Samaria, had the
auctours of the acte deliuered into hys handes, whom
he put to death, & then placed Memnon in Androma-
chus rowme. He deliuered into þe Methinians handes
Aristonicus, and Crisolaus, that had vsurped emonges
thē, whom they after many greuous tormētes dyd hāge
ouer their walles. That done he gaue audience to the
Embassadours of the Atheniēs, the Rhodians, and the
Sciotes. The Athenians did gratifye vnto hym hys
victory, and required that such Greckes as were taken
prisoners, myght be restored to libertie. The Rhodiās
and the Sciotes demaunded assistaūce of some guar-
rison: he graunted to them all theyr requestes, and re-
storpyng

stoyng to the Mytelens al their pledges, encreased
 their territorie and dominion in respecte of the fydely-
 tie they shewed vnto hym, and the money that they had
 employed in the warres. He gaue honour also accor-
 dyng to theyr deseruinges vnto the kinges of Cipres,
 whych reuolted from Darius vnto him, and had aided
 him with shippes at the siege of Tyre. Amphoterus his
 admiral had comission to driue the Persians out of the
 Isle of Crete, but specially that he shuld rid the seas of
 the pirates, which troubled and spoiled al the Ilandes,
 whiles these two princes conuerted theyr powers one
 againste another. When he had geuen order to all these
 thinges, he dyd dedicate to Hercules at Tyre, a greate
 standing peece and .xxx. bowles of gould. That done he
 set hys whole mynd and care vpon Darius, causing it to
 be proclaimed that euery man should set forwarde to
 wardes Euphrates. But Darius vnderstandyng that
 hys enemy was goe through Egypt into Aphrick, stode
 in doubt whether he shoulde stay about Mesopotamia,
 or withdraue into the inward partes of his kingdome:
 iudginge that he shoulde be hable to worke wyth those
 farre nacyons in bringyng of them forwarde to the
 warres, that his lieutenant shoulde not be able to do.

Yet whē the fame had published, and he vnderstode by
 assured aduertisment that Alexander was retourned
 out of Egypt, and fully resolved to folowe hym with all
 his power into what countrey so euer he shoulde go: he
 then gaue order that the force of all the farre nacyons
 shoulde drawe towardes Babilon, knowinge y stoutnes
 of hys enemy he had to match withal. Thelher resorted
 bothe Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians: for the
 power of other countreis were come thether before. And
 hauyng the double numbze of men that he had before in

B.iii.

Cilicia,

Alexander &
 Darius pre-
 pared to fight
 another bat-
 tel.

Cilicia, prepared armoure for theym wyth dyligence, wherof many of them had want. Both the horslemen and the horsles were armed with plates of stele. Suche as befoze had no weapons but dartes, had swordes and bucklers geuen to them moze. And to encrease the power of his horsleme, he deliuered many horsles to be broken emonges the sotemen. He had prepared also. CC. wagons set with hookes, which in those countreis were esteemed thyngs of greate force, and iudged to be a wonderfull terrout to the enemye: they were made wyth greate long pikes sticking out befoze, and with swordes set ouerthwart on both sydes. The wheles were also ful of Iron pikes right forth, and of great hookes bothe bpwarde and downewarde, wherewith all thyng was cut a sondze that came in theyr waye. When hys people were thus furnished of armoure, and had prouided sufficiently for the warres, he remoued from Babylon, and keepynge the ryuer of Tygre on his ryghte hande, and Euphrates on hys left hand, ouersped wyth hys armye all the playnes of Mesopotamia. After that he passed Tygre, and vnderstanding that hys enemy was comminge at hande, first sent Sattropaces befoze with a thousand cholen horslemen, and afterwardes appointed syxe thousand to Hazeus to stop Alexander's passage of the Riuer. Who had also in commysyō to waste and burne all the countrey where he iudged that hys enemies shoulde come, thynkinge to fainye them for wante of victuals, considerynge that they had no other prouision but suche as they gote by raun, an by stealth: they them selues hauing plenty brought them both by lande and by the ryuer of Tygre. At lengthe he came vnto a village called Arbella, whiche was afterwardes famous by reason of hys ouerthrowe.

There

Tygre.
Euphrates

Sattropaces.

Hazeus.

Arbella.

There he left the chiefe furniture of hys victuals, and cariage, and made a bydge ouer the Riuer of *Licus*, and in fyue dayes conueyed ouer his armye, as he had done befoze ouer Euphrates: passing forwarde from thence about foure score furlonges: He came vnto another Riuer called *Boumello*, and there encamped.

The countrey serued wonderfull well for the arranging of his battailes in the large playnes, passable for horses euerye where, and without stubbes, or shorte brushe to couer the ground withall, hauyng so free a prospecte, that the eye might dyscerne thinges a great waye of. And if there appeared anye hylles within the plaine, Darius caused the same to be cast downe, & the grounde to be made smooth. Suche as by coniecture made report to Alexander of Darius power, could not be credited. for he could not thinke after so many slayne there could be a greater power gathered together, then he had befoze. But he that neuer doubted any peryll, and much lesse the multitude of men, after the eleuenth encampyng came to the Riuer of Euphrates, ouer the whiche he made bydges, passing ouer hys horsemen, and afterwarde hys fotemen. For Maseus that was sente agaynst him with sixe thousande horsemen to let hys passage, durst not encounter with hym. When he had continued there a fewe dayes, not only to rest hys souldiours, but also to confirme theyr myndes, and to encourage them, he set forwarde stoutely agaynst hys enemye, fearyng that they woulde haue retyred backe into the inwarde partes of Persie, whether he shoulde haue bene enforced to folowe by waste places and desertes. Therfoze the fourth daye he passed by Arbella, and came vnto the riuer of Tigre. All the countrey beyond the Riuer was on a smoke newlye sette on fyre by

by Mazæus, who burned all thinges where he came
euen as he had bene an enemye. Alexander at the
fyrste by reason of the darkenesse of the smoke, stayed
for feare of embushmentes. But when they whiche
were sent to scoure the countrey, reported that al thing
was cleare, he appoynted a fewe horsemen to proue the
passage of the Riuer, who founde the deapenes at the
first entrie to come to the horse brest, and in the myd=
des of the streame to the horse neckes. There is no ri=
uer in all the east partes of the worlde, that runneth so
violently, which besides the waters of other riuers that
do runne into it, driueth downe stones with þe streame,
so that of his swiftnes it is called Tigre, whiche in the
Persian toung is so much to saye as an arrowe. The
footemen therfore diuided into two bandes, holdyng
their armour ouer their heades, were enclosed on both
sydes with the horsemen, and so passed tyll they came in
the deape of the chanell, without any great difficultye.
The kynge was the fyrst emonges the footemen that
passed ouer to the further syde, who with hys hande
(seyng his voyce coulde not be hearde) shewed the shal=
lowe places vnto the souldiours. But they had muche
payne to kepe theyr footyng by reason of stones, wher=
upon they stumbled, and of the violence of the water
that toke theyr feete away. Suche as caried burthens
on their backs had the greatest trauayle, whiche not
being hable to staye them selues by reason of the trou=
ble of theyr cariage, were bozne downe by vyolence of
the streame. And whyles euery man went aboute to re=
couer agayn his owne, there fel greater cryfe emonges
them selues, then they had with the streame. And the
heapes of fardels that fleted euerye where vpon the
water bare downe manye. The king cryed to them that
it was

it was sufficiente to kepe their armour, and let the rest goe, promysing to recompence euerye man. But they neither folowed his counsayle, nor dyd as he commaunded the. for belydes the noyse that was emonges them, feare filled their eares as they were swimming & wading through the water. At length where the streame was most shallow they came fourth, there being nothig myscaied or wantynge emonges them all, sayng a fewe fardels. If theyr enemies had made but a proffer agaynst them, they myght easely haue bene put to dystresse. But Alexanders continuall good fortune turned then hys enemies awaye from him. With whiche fortune he passed the Riuer of Granike, when so manye thousandes both of horsemen and footemen kept the passage agaynst him. After that sorte he ouercame the multitude of hys enemyes in the streyghtes of Cilicia. Though hys boldnes were suche, that it sometime wanted prayse, yet his felicitie euer deliuered him out of all extreme perill. If mazeus had done hys parte, and sette vpon them as they were passyng the Riuer, he myght easely haue put them to dystresse, being vnarmed and out of order. But after the Macedons had armed them selues (beyng then to late) he began to shewe hymselfe with a thousande horsemen. When Alexander perceyued the small number that came agaynst him, he caused Ariston capitaine of the Pedonians to geue a full charge vpon them. The horsemen that daye notablye behaued them selues, but in especiall Ariston, which with his speare ran Satropaces the chiefe capitaine through the throte, & pursuing him into the middes of hys troupe, threw him from his horse, and cut of his head, which to his great commendation, he brought and threwe downe before the kyng.

Alex:

An eclips of
the moone.

Alexander taried there two dayes, & agaynst the morning caused warning to be geuen by proclamation for his setting forwardes. But in þe fyrst watch of the night the moone suffred eclypps, whiche losing her brightnes, afterwarde became as read as bloude, and therewith waxed dimme and darke. The straügenes of this matter did strike a religious feare emöges the Macedons, wherof proceded suche a doubt and dreade, that they fell into a murmure and grudging that they shoulde be brought forwardes after such a maner agaynit the will of the Goddes, into the vttermoost boundes of the earth, where as they were not hable to passe the Riuer, nor coulde not enioye the accustomed vse of the elementes, fyndyng nothing but waste groundes and wyld desertes: all whiche was done (they sayed) for the ambition of one man, for whose vayne glorie the bloude of so many thousandes shoulde be shed. He despyseth (quod they) his countrey, he hath forsaken Phylipp for his father, and affected heauen in hys fooly the imaginacion. When Alexander perceyued the matter to come to a muttering, he that in all thinges was without feare, commaunded the chiefe rulers and capitaynes of hys men of warre to assemble at his pavilion, and there commaunded the Astronomers of the Egyptians (whom he iudged to haue mooste vnderstandyng of the Planets) to declare their opinions. They vnderstandyng verie well the reuolutions of the tyme, and their appoynted courses, knewe that the moone dyd euer eclypse, when either she went vnderneath the earth, or els when her lyght was blemished by opposition of the sunne, which reason conceyued emonges them selues, they accustomed not to teache the people. But affirmed that the Greekes were vnder the respecte of the Sunne, and the

the Persians vnder the Moone: and therefore so often
 as þe moone faileth of her light, it signified gret destruc-
 tion to the nations vnder that constellation. And to co- The force of
superstition
to gouerne a
multitude.
 fyne that opinion of theyrs, they brought in olde pre-
 sidentes of the kinges of Perse, to whom the Eclips of
 the moone had signified, that the Goddes were against
 them in fighting of their battayles. There is nothyng
 more effectual then superstition to gouerne a multitude
 whiche otherwise is without rule, madde, and mutable.
 But when they haue once conceiued a religion, though
 it be but bayne: they be more obedient to theyr diuy-
 ners, then to theyr capitaynes. Whiche thyng myghte
 be well perceiued, when the answers of the Egyp-
 tians were spread abroad amonges the people. For they
 streight wayes were remoued from theyr dulnes, and
 dyspayre, and sturred vp to hoape and confidence. Alex-
 ander therefore that could vse the tyme, and employe his
 souldiours in theyr good mode: in the second watch re-
 moued his campe, keeping Tygre on his ryght hand, &
 the mountaines whiche they call Gordies on hys lefte
 hande. By the spring of the day the scourers that he set
 before to dyscouer, returned to hym with reposte that
 Darius was coming. Then the souldiers prepared the
 selies to the fight, & marched forwarde in orde of bat-
 taile. But those þe discovered for the Persians, were but
 a. M. horsemen, whiche keepng the scout a farre of,
 seemed to the Macedons to be a great army. The scour-
 ers commonly haue that property, that when they can
 not fynde oute the trueth, they ymagine through feare
 thinges that be false. When Alexander vnderstode the
 certaintie, he sent oute towarde them a small numbze
 of his owne horsemen: at whose comming they fledde, &
 were partlye slaine, and partlye taken prisoners. That
 done

done, he sent horsemen as well to discover further, as also to quench the fyre whiche the Persians had made through all the countrey. For as they fledde away, they put fire into the ruffes of their houses, & the stacks of corne, whiche sone toke holde aboue, and consumed all tyll it came to the ground. By extinguyshing of those fyers, great plenty of corne was found, and abundance of all other thynges ensued amonges the Macedons. That was a matter which encouraged the souldiours greatly to pursue their enemies. For doubting lest they should burne and consume all such thynges as myght serue to their vse: pursued them with all the speade they could make: wylsome growinge of necessitie. For Mazous whiche before dyd burne the countrey at leasure, when he saw him selfe pursued, fled away, & left vnto the Macedons the more parte vntouched. Alexander vnderstanding that Darius drew towards him, & was come within an hundred and fiftie furlonges, made prouision of victuals, and remainned foure dayes in the same place. Darius letters were there intercepted, which he had wrytten to the Greeces, in persuation either to kyl or betraye Alexander. He doubted whether he shoulde recyte the same letters openly or no, hauinge no mistrust of their beneuolence and affection towards him. But Parmenio dissuaded the putting of any such promises into the souldiours heads, considering that the committynge of suche an acte consisted in one mans hand, and that couetousnes iudged neuer anything vnlawful. He folowed Parmenio his counsell, & so remoued his campe. As they were marchyng, one of the Eunuches that attended vpon Darius wyfe brought word howe she fainted, & was in great perill of death. For she in verie dede was so weryed with continuall

trouble of her iourneye and care of mynde, that she
 fell downe in a swoone betwixte her mother in lawe,
 and her yong daughter, and so dyed. He had not so sone
 tolde the tale, but another came with tydings that she
 was dead in deed: wherat Alexander was no lesse so-
 rowful, the if his own mother had bene in the same case,
 and weping no lesse then Darius shoulde haue done,
 repayred into the tent where Darius mother was sit-
 ting by the dead bodye. There his sorowe renewed
 when he sawe her lye prostrate vpon the ground: who by
 the chaunce that presently fell, being put in remembraunce
 of her aduersitie bypast, embraced in his armes Dari-
 us. ii. daughters, a comfort to her in their mutual dolour,
 but that she was enforced to comfort the. Her yong ne-
 phew stode in her presence, the more to be pitied, because
 that for his youth, he yet vnderstode not the calamitie
 that was growing towards hym. A man would haue
 iudged that Alexander had wepte for his owne cause,
 whiche lamented, and woulde receiue no comforte, but
 absteyned from meate, & reserued all honour to be done
 to the dead corpes after the countrey custome of the Per-
 sians. Worthy he was thereby to receiue the due reward
 of such his mekenes & continency. He had only sene her
 once before, whiche was the daye of her takynge, and
 then came not to visite her, but Darius mother. The
 excellencye of her beauty was no prouokement to him
 of lust but of glory. Of those Eunuches that were about
 the quene, there was one Tyriotes, which during thys
 mourning and lamentation, escaped by a gate that was
 vnwarded, and fled vnto the Persians campe, where
 he was by the watchmen brought to Darius presence.
 When Darius sawe him lamentinge and tearynge of
 his clothes, he was in a wonderful expectatiō what his
 sorowe

Darius to
Tyriotes,

Darius ex-
clamacion in
his sorowe.

sozowe should be, doubting what thing he might feare most. Thy countenance (quod he) declareth that some great mischiete is happened. Take hede thou concealest nothing from my miserable cares. I haue learned to be vniortunate, and it is often tymes a comforte of a mans calamitie to knowe hys myshappe. Is it not the mylusinge of my wyfe and chyldzen that thou wouldest tell me? whiche is the thing I suspecte moste and feare to vtter, and (as I beleue) is more greuous vnto them then anye kynde of tozment. Nothyng lesse (quod Tyriotes.) The same honour that was geuen vnto them by your subiectes, the lyke is vled by hym that is vyc-tozer. But your wyfe is the cause of my amasement, which is euen now dead. When that worde was once spoken, there was nothing but lamentation and how-lyng throughout the campe. And Darius coulde not be otherwyse perswaded but that she was slayne, be-cause she woulde not consente to her mylusement, and in the behemency of his sorowe, cryed oute. O Alex-ander, what so greate an offence haue I comytted agaynste thee? whom of thy kynred haue I slayne, that thou shouldst requite me with this crueltie? Thou hast done it without any prouokement of my part. But be it so that thou doest moue a iuste warre agaynst me, yet is it thy parte therfore to kepe warre with womene. Tyriotes therupon dyd sweare by the Goddes im-mortal, that there was no kynde of byllany done vnto her, but that Alexander lamented her death, & wept no lesse then he himselfe woulde haue done. Those wordes dyd driue him into further suspition & ielousye, coiectu-ring & Alexanders behauour therein, had risen vpon the familer conuersacion had betwixte them. Therfore he auoyding all persons from him sauing only Tyriotes, and

and left his weping but yet sobbing for sorowe sayd vn-
to him: Thou seeste nowe Tyriotes, that lyes can take
no place. Tormentes streyght waies shalbe broughte
befoze the. I require the therfore if any reuerence of
thy prince remayne within thy harte, tell me wythout
compulsion the thyng that I desire to knowe and am
ashamed to enquire. Is it possible being of the age that
he is, and hauing her in his handes, that he shoulde not
attempt her? Tyriotes offered him self to be racked in
tryall of the cause, and called the gods to witnes, that
she was neuer vbled but chastly & reuerently. At length
when he was once perswaded that hys wordes were
true, he couered his face wepinge a long space, And
afterwardes the teares yet distilling dowē his cheekes,
vncouered his face, and holding vp his handes to hea-
uen, sayd. O you goddes that I do worlshyp, I requyre
you cheiflie to establishe this kingdome vnto my selfe.
But if ye haue determyned my ruine and decaye, then
my requeste is that none maye reigne as kynge in my
doynnyon, but euen he that is so iuste an enemy, and
so mercifull a victorour. And therfore though he had
twise befoze requyred peace at Alexander his handes &
preuailed not, but had couerted all his minde towarde
the warres: yet he was then so ouercome with the con-
tinencye of hys enemy, that he sent ten of the chiefe
of his bloud as Embassadours to treate with him vpon
condicions of peace. Alexander calling a counsell gaue
them ptesence, to whom the eldest spake in thys wyse.

That Darius hath nowe the thirde tyme demaunded
peace of you, no poure hath copelled hym, but your ius-
tice & continencye hath moued him. He shulde not per-
ceiue that either his mother, wife, or childre were priso-
ners, sauing for wāt of their cōpany, you taking care of

The wordes
of Darius
Embassa-
dours.

their chastities whiche remayne on lyue lyke a father,
you gyue to them the honour appertaininge, and suf-
fer the to continue in their former estate. I se that dolo-
rousnes in your face, that I sawe in Darius when I
parted from hym, and yet he dothe mourne for his wife,
and you for your enemye. And if the care of her bu-
ryall had not bene, you had nowe stande in battayle
in redynes to fyght. Is it anye maruayle therfore if he
require peace of suche one, that is so frendly dysposed
towards hym? What shall they nede to contend with
armes, betwene whome there remayneth no hatred.
In hys former treaties he offered that the Ryuer of
Tylis whych boundeth vpon Lydia should be the con-
fynes of your Empire: but nowe he profereth you in
doure wyth hys daughter to be deliuered out of hand
al those countreys that lie betwene Hellespont and Eu-
phrates. For the perfozmance of whiche hys promise, &
for the obseruinge of peace, Occhus his sonne nowe in
your possessyon shall be the pledge for hys parte. Hys
request is to haue hys mother and hys two daughters
restored vnto hym, for which thre you shal receyue. xxx
thousand Talentes. Except I knewe the moderatyon
that is in you, I woulde not be so bold to say that thys
is a tyme when you ought not onely to graunt peace, but
also to seke for it your selfe. Loke backe & behold what a
greate thing you leaue behind you, & forsee howe much
it is that you couet before you.ouer greate an Empryre
is daungerous. And it is harde to hold that you be not
able to receiue. Do you not see that those shippes which
be of excedding greatnes, that they cannot well be go-
uerned? Iudge that to bee the cause that Darius losse
so muche, bicause that ouer muche is the occasiō of much
losse. It is moze facil to get many thynges then to
keepe

kepe a fewe, how much more easlye do our hādes cathe
 then holde styll. The verie death of Darius wyfe
 nowe doth shewe, that you haue not so greate occasion
 to shewe mercy as you had before. The Embassadours
 were remoued vnto an other place, and he debated in
 counsell hys oppynyen. It was longe before any durst
 vtter what they thought, because they were vncertaine
 how the king was enclined. At length Parmenio spake
 and saied, my opinion was euer that the prisoners ta-
 ken at Damasco should haue bene deliuered to suche as
 would redeme them, whereby a great somme of money
 myght haue bene made of them, whych now remaining
 in captiuitie, pester the handes of many a man of seruice.
 And nowe I thinke most necessarye of ail, that you ex-
 chaunge for .xxx. talentes of gold, this olde woman and
 the two yong damels, which be but impedimentes &
 disturbaunce to you in your iourneis. Here is a riche
 realme to be gotten by treatye wythout any hasarde of
 battaile. For there was neuer none before you (qđ he) y^e
 was lord of al the countreys in length and bzeadth liēg
 betwene Ister & Euphrates: he wyllēd him therfore ra-
 ther to haue respect towarde Macedonia, then to loke
 forwarde towarde Bactria & y^e Indiās. His wordes
 liked not the kinge, and therfore so sone as Parmenio
 had made an end of hys tale, he made thys answer:
 And if I were Parmenio, I would rather desire mo-
 ney then glozy. But now seyng I am Alexander, I
 am not in any doubt of pouertie, & haue cōsideratyon y^e
 I am a kyng, & no marchaunt. I haue nothyng wherof
 I wyll make sale, and much lesse sell my fortune. If I
 were in mynde to deliuer the prisoners, it were muche
 better to geue them frelye, then to raunsome them for
 mony. Hereupon he called in the Embassadours, and

Parmenios
 cōnyon con-
 cerning the
 raunsominge
 of prisoners.

I.ii,

answered

Alexanders
answere to
the Embassa-
dours.

answered the in this sort. Shewe you to Darius that geuing of thanks is but waste to a mans enemy, and let him not thinke, that I haue had any respect, to hys frendshyp in those thynges that I haue done of mine owne clemency & liberalitie. Noz let hym not impute the same in any wyse towarde hym selfe, but to the inclinacio of mine owne nature, and that I contende not agaynste mens calamities, but agaynste the force of myne enemyes. I wyl not to make warre wyth women and prisoners. for he muste be armed, to whome I shall shewe my hatred. And though it were so in deede that he mente good faith in hys peace askynge, yet peradventure I woulde aduise me before I would consent. But seynge that at sometyne he hath by hys letters prouoked my souldiers to betray me, and at other tymes stirred by my frendes wyth monye to my destructyon: I must pursue hym to the vttermost, not as a righteous enemy, but as one that worketh hys thinges by treason. If I should accept the condicions of peace that you do bryng, I should acknowledge him to be victor, which liberally doth geue me all that is behynde the ryuer of Euphrates, not considerynge in what place I speake now vnto you. Haue you forgote that I am passed the ryuer of Euphrates, & encamped beyond the boundes ye proffer me in doure: driu me from hence that I maye knowe the same to be yours, wherwith ye would infeoffe me. He proffereth me hys doughter with no greater liberalite, then he would do to one of hys seruauntes. Dothe he thynke to do me a pleasure in preferring me to be hys sonne in lawe before Mazæus: Go and shewe thys to your kynge, that both the thing he hath loste, and that he hath yet in possession, shall be vnto me rewardes of the warre, which warre

warre shall discusse the boundes of both our Empires,
 and by the fortune of þ battaile we shal fight to morow.
 appointed to eche of vs our limittes. Let hym knowe
 that I came not into Asia to receiue, but to geue. If he
 would haue bene content to be second person, and not
 coueted to be equal with me, I would peraduenture haue
 graunted his request. But as two sonnes can not shine
 on the earth at once, so likewise two such great kynge-
 domes can not be at one tyme, without the subuersyon
 of þ world. Therfore let hym either thys daye yelde him
 selfe, or els pzeate agaisþ þ morowes fight, nor let him
 not perswade him selfe to haue other fortune, the he hath
 proued already. The Embassadors replied: þ seing he
 was resolved to procede with warre, he did roially in þ
 he was plaie, & did not fode the forth with hope of peace.
 Their request was therfore þ they might be dispatched
 to their Prince, to warne him to pzeate him selfe lyke-
 wise. Whē they returned, they bzought word þ ther was
 no way but pzeate for þ fight. Wherfore Darius sent
 Mazeus out of hāde with three thousande hozlemen to
 kepe the passages, whereby þ Macedons should passe.
 When Alexander had perfourned the funerals of
 Darius wyfe, leuyng wyth a small guarison all suche
 as were vnprofitable for the fyght, within the strength
 of hys campe, sette forwarde towarde hys enemyes.
 His footemen were diuided into two battailes, empa-
 led with hozlemen on both sides, and hys cariage wete
 in the myddes. He sente Medius with hozlemen
 vpon the spoozes, to discover where Darius was:
 Who comminge within the view of Mazeus, durste
 not passe any further, but bzought repozte that he could
 heare nothing but the noyse of men, and reying of hoz-
 les. Mazeus likewise discovered them and returned

The orde
of Darius
battailes.

Bellus.

Ariobarzanes
etc.

Crabatus.

backe to Darius, declaring that his enemies were com-
myuge: Then Darius, whose desire was to encounter
with his enemies in the playne and open fieldes, com-
maunded hys men to be armed, and diuided them into
two partes, wherof the one marched on the left hande,
and the other on the ryght. In the battaile on the lefte
hand a. M. of p Bactrian horsemen had the first place,
with the like numbze of Dahans, and. iiii. M. Aracho-
sians and Susians, after which bande of horsemen
there folowed. C. hoked wagons, and behind them Bels-
sus with an other band of. viii. M. Bactrian horsemen
& ii. M. Massagetes. The sotemen of diuers nacjons
came next in orde of battaile, not mixed together, but
eche countreine by them selues. Ariobarzanes & Dyr-
bates had the gouernment of the Persians, Hardians
and Sogdians. But their charge was diuided, & Dy-
sines that was come of the. vii. Persians, & of p bloude
of noble kyng Citrus had the rule of p whole. Other na-
cions folowed whose names were scarcely knowen to
their owne company. Crabatus was the next, whiche
hauing also fiftie hoked wagons, placed a band of Cas-
pian horsemen before them, and behynd them the Indi-
ans and other the inhabitants of the redde sea, rather
names of men then good assistance. Thys square was
empaled with fiftie wagons, vnto the which the Mer-
cenary souldiers were ioyned. After them folowed the
men of Armeny the lesse, then the Babilonians, and
next the Bellitans with such as inhabite the Collean
mountaines. The Gortuans came next, which some-
tyme folowed the Medians out of Eubodia: but at those
dayes begenerated from their countrey customes.
The Phrygians, Cathonians, and Parthians, enclo-
sed the taylor. This was the battaile on the left hande.

In the battaile on the ryght hand were the people of þe greater Armenye, þe Cadusians, Capadocias, Sirians and Medians, who had fyfty hoked wagons. The summe of his whole army was. xlv. M. horsemen, & CC. thousand fote men. When they were placed in orde of battaile, they marched forwardes ten furlonges, and then were commaunded to stay. Whyles the Persians after that maner taried for their enemies, there fel a soden feare emonges the Macedons: wherof there appeared no cause, & yet euery mā was amased, & a secreet dread entred into their hartes. The lightening þe fell out of the ayer being in the sommer season semed like fier, and the flaries sodenly appearyng, were thought to come from Darius campe. If Mazeus whiche was sent to obserue their comming, had set vpon them whyles they were in this feare, he might haue done the some notable damage. But he was slacke to do his enterpryse, & remained vpon the toppe of an hyll, cōtented that he was not assailed. Alexander perceiuing þe terrour that was come emonges his mē, made a signe for them to staye, and gaue orde that they should vnarme the selues, and restre the their bodies: geuing them to vnderstand that there was no cause why they shoulde so sodenly conceiue a feare, seinge their enemies were yet a good dysstaunce from them. At length, when he perceiued they had recouered their spirites, he exhorted them both to receiue courage, and to put on their armour. But yet he thought nothyng moze expedient for the case present, then to fortifie hys campe in the same place. The next daye Mazeus whiche had planted hym selfe on a hygh hill, from whence he myght beholde hys enemys campe, either for feare, or els because hys commissyon was but onely to discouer, returned againe vnto Da-

rius. Upon hys departure the Macedons by & by toke
 the hyll whiche he had forlaken, the same being of more
 strength then the playne where they remayned befoze,
 from whence they might beholde their enemyes cape.
 And though the miste which the moyste hilles did cast
 forth, toke not away clearly the vse of the prospect: yet
 it letted them to discerne the diuision of theyr enemyes
 battailes, and their ordze, & multitude of whome ouer-
 spred the fieldes, and the noyse of suche a nombre
 fylled theyr eares, though they were farre of. Then
 Alexander began to reuolue in hys heade, and debate
 wyth hym selfe, one whyle Parmenios opinion, and
 another tyme hys owne. For he was come so far forth
 that he could not retire except he were victozer, wyth-
 out the great destruction of hys armye. The multy-
 tude of hys enemyes moued hym muche in respecte of
 hys small nombre. Yet on the other parte he remem-
 bzed what great actes he had done wyth them, and
 howe many nacjons he had vanquished. So that
 hope surmountynge hys feare, he thoughte it most
 daunger of al to differ the battaile any lenger, lest de-
 speration might growe emongest hys men, and there-
 fore dissemblynge the matter, caused the Mercenarie
 horsemen and the Peones to passe on befoze, and diuis-
 ded hys phalanx (as it hath bene said befoze) into
 two battayles, and empaled the same wyth horsemen
 on both sides. By that tyme & myst auoyded, and it be-
 gan to wax cleare, & ordze of their enemyes appearing
 manifestly. The Macedons then, whether it were of
 courage, or for that they were impacient to tarpe any
 lenger, made such a shoute as men of warre vse when
 they ioyne in battaile: the like was also made by & Per-
 sians. Then the woodes and balles rounde aboute,
 rebounded

rebounded with the terrible sounde. The Macedons could not absteyn anye lenger, but would haue runne forwarde towarde the enemyes. But Alexander thought it better to fortifye his campe vpon that hyll, and so commaunded it to be entrenched about.

Which worke beinge spedely perfourmed, he entred into his tent, fro whence he might behold þe whole armye of his enemies host. The whole fashon & fourme of þe daunger þe was at hand, was presented befoze his eyes: both horsmen & fote men glistered in their bright armour & all thynges were prepared with great diligence. He beheld the care of the capitaines in his enemies campe, how they did ryde vp & downe to set thynges in orde. And dyuers thynges whiche were but bayne in deede: (as the noise of men, þe neying of horses, & the glistering of their armour) troubled yet þe mind that was carefull in the expectation of the matter. Therfoze whether it were that he was not fully resolved in his mynd, or els to proue the mindes of such as were aboutes hym, called his frendes to consult what was best to doe. Parmenio that was the most expert man amonges all the capitaines in the seates of warre, thought good not to giue his enemies plaine battail, but rather to set vpon them in the dead tyme of the nyght, wherby he thought they might easely be dyscomfited: supposing that they emōges who there was so great diuersitie of customes and alteration of language, could neuer assemble well together, specially when they should be put sodainly in feare in þe night tyme beinge a sleape: wheras in the day time the shap of the Scythians and Bactrians with their rough faces, and long heare, besydes the hugenes of their bodies should appere terrible. And argued howe souldiours were moze moued with bayne causes
of

Parmenio:
his opinion

of feare, and suche as were of no moment, then with
suche as were iust causes in deede. He declared also
howe their enemies by reason of their great multitude,
should be hable to enclose theyr small numbze rounde
about: and that they shoulde not nowe fyght in the
streightes and narrowe passages of Cilicia, but in an
open & large plaine. They all in maner agreed to Dar-
menio his sayeng: and Policarpon was of a playn opi-
nion, that the victozy consisted in the poynte whiche he
had deuysed. The kynge that before had taunted Dar-
menio more bytterly then he thought good, would not
checke him again, but behelde Policarpon, and sayed:
That policie that you aduise me, pertaineth to stealers
and theues: for it is theyr property to worke by sleight
and disceite. I will no more suffer that eyther Darius
absence, the streightnes of the ground, or the stelth in
the nyght, shalbe an hinderaunce to my gloze. I am
plainely determined to haue to do with him in the open
daye, and had rather repent me of my fortune, than be
ashamed of my victozy. Besydes this it is to be consi-
dered, that the Persians keepe good watch, and stand
armed alwayes in a readines to receyue vs, wherof I
haue aduertisement, so that they can not be deceyued
that waye. Therfore there doth remaine no more, but
that you prepare your selues to the battayl. When he
had by these wordes put the in a courage, he dysmissed
them from counsell, to refreshe their bodies. Darius
coniecturing that his enemies woulde haue done the
same thing that Darmenio did persuaide, caused his hor-
ses to stand ready bydeled the whole night, & the more
part of his host to continue armed, and keepe good
watche. His campe shone bright with the fires & was
made, and he him selfe with his capitaines & his folkes

Alexanders
answere.

went

went about his battailes & stode in ordze & in armes
 making inuocation to the sonne, to Mars, and to the
 euerlasting fire, that they would inspyze vnto them a
 fortitude of mind, that might aunswere to the auncient
 glozy and actes of his pzedecessours. And shewed if the
 minde of man were hable to conceiue anye tokens or
 signes of the goddes sauour or assystaunce: it was no
 doubt but that they were bent on theyr syde, hauing al-
 ready stricken a loddain feare emōges the Macedons:
 which (he said) might be seene by their rūning here and
 there, by the carieng and casting of their armour. And
 that the gods which tooke care of þe Persians Empire,
 were nowe determyned to punyshe those cowardes:
 Whose capitaine (qð he) being of no other sort then the
 rest, was like vnto those wild beastes, whiche thzough
 gredines of the pray þe they do couet, fall into the snares
 that be set for them. The lyke care was emonges the
 Macedons. for as though the matter should haue bene
 tried that nyght, they passed it ouer in doubt and feare.
 Alexander him selfe (that was neuer seene in such feare
 befoze that time) called for Aristander to make bowes
 & praiers: who in a whyte garment carieng Verbenes
 in his hand, with his head couered, went befoze þe king,
 calling vpon Jupiter, Minerva, & Victoria. When he
 had thus persourmed hys sacrifice accordyng to theyr
 religion, returned into his Paultion to rest þe residue of
 þe night. Yet he could neither rest nor sleape, but con-
 tinually debated with himself which way he should as-
 sayle his enemies. One while he was of opiniō to geue
 his first onset vpon þe battaile of the Persians & should
 come on his right hande: Somtime he determyned
 to meete hys enemies in the verpe front, and another
 whyle was in doubt whether it were better to set fyrst
 on

on their left battayle. At length his body became heauy with trauayle of the mynd, and fell into a sound slepe. When the day appeared, the capitaines aslebled about the kynges paulion, to receyue theyr charge. Where they stode amased with greater silence then they were accustomed. For they could not but wonder that Alexander, who was euer wont to call vpon other men, and to reproue suche as were slowe or negligent, not to be then stirring, when the matter was come to the poynt of the extreme daunger. And many were of opinion that he slept not, but shronke for feare: yet for all that, none of them that were about his person durst attempt to wake him. In the meane season the tyme past away, and the souldiours myght neither put on theyr armour, nor go in order of battayle, without commaundement of theyr head. When they had thus taried a good whyle, Parmenio gaue comaundement they should fall to meate. At length when the time came, that of necessitie they must set their battailes, he entered into the kynges lodging, and called vpon hym dyuers tymes by his name: but when he could not awake him with his voyce, he stirred hym with his hande: It is farfourth day (quod he) & your enemies come forwarde in order of battayle, and your souldiours being yet vnarmed, haue no comaundement geuen them what they shall do. Where is that cherefulness & courage of yours become, which were wont to styre vp other men. Alexander made aunswere vnto him. Thinke you that I could scape before & I had rid my self of & care & letteth me to take my rest: and therupon caused the trumpets to blowe to the battaile. But when Parmenio continued still in admiration that he in such a time could scape so quietly: It is no maruayle (quod Alexander) when

Parmenio to
Alexander.

Darius burned the countrey, wasted the byllages, and destroyed the victuals, I coulde then in no wyse be quyet. But nowe what cause haue I of feare, seeing he prepareth him selfe to fyght? He hath nowe fulfilled my desyre: resort you where your charge lyeth, and I will streight wayes come to geue order emonges you, and reason this matter afterwardes. He vsed seldome to take hys scendes aduyle when any doubt or daunger was at hande. When Parmenio was gone, he armed him selfe, and came forwarde emonges the souldiours. They seeing hym loke so cherefully as they had not done before time, conceiued by the boldenes of hys countenance a certaine hope of the victorie. Then he caused the trenches of his campe to be cast downe, that the souldiours might haue free passage fourth, & so dyd set his battailes in orde. The horsemen whiche they call Algema, of whom Clitus was capitaine, were set in the winge of hys ryght hand battayle, to whom he ioyned Philotas and other capitaynes. The last bande of horsemen was Meleagers, whiche went next vnto the square battayle of footemen that the Macedons name Phalanx. After the Phalanx folowed the Argiraspidēs, of whom Nycanor the sonne of Parmenio was Capitaine. Cenos with his band was appoynted to be a reliefe: Horestes and Lyncesta came next in orde, and after them Polycarpon that had the rule of the straungers, and Phylagus which had the rule of the Balactrons. And this was the order of Alexanders battayle in the right warde, wherof Aminatas was chiefe. In the left battayle Craterus had the charge of the Deloponensian horsemen, and with hym also the bandes of the Acheians, Locrensiens, and Moleanensiens, & the last troupes were the horsemen of

The order
that Alexander
used at
the battaile
of Arbella.

Argiraspidēs

of Thessalye, vnder Philip their Capitayne. Thus the horsemen coueryng the footemen, made the front of the left battail. And lest the enemyes through theyr multitude should enclose the battayl about, he planted a great force behinde for the reliefe of that matter, and set a reliefe also vpon the winges, not in front with the rest, but vpon the sydes, to the intent that if the enemyes attempted to compassse about the battailes, that they should be ready to keepe them doying. Those that occupied the places of reliefe were the Agrians, of whom Attalus was capitain and the archers of Crete ioined vnto them. Such as stode in the hinder partes of y battailes, were ordred to turne their faces from the frontwardes, because that beyng in a readynes euery waye, the battailes in euery place should be of lyke force. They which stode with their faces contrarywise were the Illirians, and the Mercenary souldiers, with the Thracians that were lyght harnised. These his battayles were set so aptlye to be turned euery waye, that such as stode in the hinder partes coulde not be enclosed about, but might towardes eche part make their front: So the front, the flankes, and the hynder partes were all of lyke force. When he had set his men in order after this maner, he gaue commaundement, that if the Persians should put forwardes vpon them their hoked wagons with a crye or noyse, that the they should open their battailes & receyue them with sylence, not doubtyng but y they should passe through without harme doying, if no man dyd resist them. But if they should come without any shoute or clamour, that then they them selues shoulde make a crye to feare the horse withal, and so with pykes thrust them in on euery syde. They which had the charge of the battailes were

come

commaunded to extende them so muche in breadth as they might, lest by standing ouer cloase, they myght be enuironed, and yet not to stretche them so farre out, to leaue the places voyde or thyn in the myddes. The carriage and the prisoners (amonges whom Darius mother was) were set in the top of an hyll, with a small guard about them. The charge of the left battayl was committed vnto Parmenio, as was accustomed before tyme, and Alexander hym selfe was in the other. When they were come neare together, one Bion came flyeng from the Persian host in all the hast he could make, and declared vnto the king that Darius had planted Iron galtoppes, where as he thought hys horsemen shoulde passe, and by a certayn sygne shewed hym the place, because it myght be auoyded. Alexander willed the fugitiue to be kept saufe, and assembled all his Capitaynes together, declaring the matter, and exhortyng them to make theyr souldiours priue to the daunger, for eschewing the place poynted out to them. But all that were in so great an army could not heare the warning geuen, the noyse of both armies taking awaye the vse of the eares. But Alexander riding betwixt the battailes, gaue exhortation to the capitaines, & to all other that were within hearing. He declared that there was but one hazard remaynyng to them that had passed through so many countreys in hoape of the victoꝝy, which they were now ready to fight for. Therupon he reduced to their memoꝝy the battailes they had fought, at the Ryuer of Granike, in the mountaines of Cilicia, and with what speede they had passed ouer both Siria and Egypt, the rehersall wherof put them in great hoape & pricked them forwarde to the desyre of gloꝝy. He shewed that the Persians being withdrawen agayn from
their

Alexanders
exhortation
to his men.

theyr former flieng, were now compelled to fight of necessity, because they could flee no further, and how th at thzee dayes together amased for feare, they had remayned stil in one place with their armour on their backs. Of whose dispayre (he laied) there coulde be no greater argument, then y they had set on fyre their owne countrey, confelling all to be their enemies, that they destroyed not. He exhorted them, not to feare the bayne names of vnknownen nations: for it was a thyng nothyng pertinent to the moment of the matter, whiche were called Scithians or Caducians. For that they were vnknowen nations, was the greatest token y they were men of no valour. For because suche as be valiant men could neuer be vnknownen in the world. And contrary wise dastardes, when they come furth of their dennes, bzing nothyng with them but names of men, where as you (qd he) that be Macedons haue obtained by your vertue and manhode, that there is no countrey in the world ignoraunt of your actes. He willed them to behold the euil order that was in theyr enemies host, of whom some had no weapon but a darte, other a sling to cast stones, and very fewe had suche armour as they ought to haue. So that though there were a great number on the other parte: yet (he sayed) they had moze on their syde that shoulde come to hande stryppes. And that for his parte he woulde not require any man to aduerture him selfe, except he were an ensauple to theym to shew baliannes and courage. For he promysed that he should be scene fightyng with the formost, knowing that so manye woundes as he shoulde get, shoulde be so many ornaments to his person. He sayed, they themselves knewe that he woulde be no partaker of the pray but that euer his custome was to bestow the rewardes

of the victorie to theyr behoue and commoditie. His for-
mer wordes he shewed to be spoken to suche as were
men of courage, but if there were any that were other-
wyle, he had to saye vnto them: that they were come to
the place from whence they coulde not flee, hauyng left
so many countreys behinde the whych they had passed
ouer & so manye riuers & mountaines at their backs.
So that now there was no way to their houses and
countrey, but suche as they must make open with theyr
owne handes. This was the exhortacyon he gaue vnto
the capitaines, and to suche of the souldiers as stode
next him. Darius that was in hys lefte battail accom-
panied wyth a choyle band of elect hozsemen and fote-
men, despised the small numbze of hys enemyes, theyr
battailes appearng to hym thynne and boyde of men,
when he sawe their winges stretched so far abrode. He
stode therfore in hys Chariot on hie, and turnyng hym
selfe both on the ryght hande and the left, spake in thys
sort to such as were aboute hym. We that not longe a-
go were lordes of al the countreys lieng betwixt Helle-
spont & the Ocean sea, are compelled now to fyght, not
for fame and glorie, but for our sauegarde, and our
libertie, which chiefly is to be eueained. This daye shal
either establishe or make an ende of y^e greatest Empire
that hath bene in any age. At the riuier of Granike we
fough with a smal part of our poure. Whē we were bā-
quished in Cilicia, Siria was able to receyue vs, & the
riuers of Tigre and Euphrates were as bulwarkes
to defende our kingdome. But now we be come to that
point, y^e we haue no place to flee to, if we be put to flight.
All thinges behinde our backs are wasted with thys
long warre, neither ciues be inhabited nor men left to
telle the grounde. Both our wiues and chylzen do fo-

The oration
of Darius.

I love thys armye, a praye redye for our enemyes, except
 we put fourth our bodies for the defence of suche as be
 deare vnto vs. So much as hath concerned me I per-
 formed, preparying such an armye as thys huge plaine
 is scarflye able to receiue: I distributed amonges you
 horse and armour, prouiding that victuals shoulde not
 want for such a multitude, and haue chosen out an apt
 place to arraunge our battailes in. All the rest remain-
 neth in your handes. Do but dare, and the victorie is
 yours: despise you thys same which is but a weake we-
 pon agaynst men of valute. It is rashnes whiche hy-
 therto ye haue feared as a vertue, whereof when the
 fyrst brunt is spent, it waxeth then dul as these dranes
 hauing once lost their tounge. Thys playne hath dis-
 closed their smale numbze, whiche the mountaynes of
 Cilicia did hyde: you se howe thynne their rances be,
 their wynges how they be extended abroad, howe their
 battailes be emptie, and boyde of men, and such as be
 hyndermost haue alreadye tourned theyr backs. They
 may be ouerthrowen wth your horse feete, though I
 sende none agaynst them but the hoked wagons. And
 if we wyne the battaile, we make an end of the warre
 for they haue no place to flie vnto. They be shut in wth
 Tigre on the one side, & wth Euphrates on the other:
 and such things, as befoze made for theyr purpose, now
 be turned and make cleare agaynst them. Our armye is
 lighte, and without muche baggage, and they be laden
 with praies and with booties. We shall kil them ther-
 fore as they be wrapt in our spoiles. And the same one
 thyng shalbe both our gaine, and the cause of our vic-
 torie. If any of you be moued wth the fame of the na-
 cio, you must thinke that the armour wth the outward
 shew, & not the bodies of the very Macedons be there
 present

present: we haue consumed so much of their bloud since þ
war began. And seing they be but few, their losse must
nedes be to them the greater. For howe greate so ever
Alexander dothe seeme to suche as be fearefull and co-
wardes, he is but a man, and if you trust me, both rashe
and without consideration: and hether to more fortu-
nate through our feare, the by hys owne valure. There
is nothing can cōtinue that is not gouerned by reason.
For though fortune seme to fauour for a whyle, yet at
length she shall not support hys rashnes. Besides that
the estate of thynges be full of chaunge, and no man
hath perpetuall felicitye: it maye be that the prouidēce
of the goddes haue so ordeyned it, that the Empire of
the Persians encreased wpyth suche prosperous suc-
cesse by the space of two hundred and thyrtye yeares,
and broughte to so greate an height of fortune, should
nowe rather be shaken, then bitterlye ouerthrowen:
therby to admonishe vs of mans fragilitie, whyche v-
seth to forget hymselfe ouer much in prosperous estate.
It is not long ago since of our owne mocyon and cou-
rage, we moued warre agaynst the Grecians, and in-
uaded their dominions: but now we stand at defence
in our owne countrey. Thus we be tossed one agaynst
an other by exchaunge of fortune. For one nacyon can
not beare the greatnes of the Empire whyche we both
do couet. But be it so that hope were taken from vs,
yet necessitie ought to pricke vs forwarde: the matter
is come to such extremitye. We keapeth now as pry-
soners both my mother, my two doughters, and Oc-
thus my sonne, bozne to the succession of thys Empire.
We keapeth captiue your princes, the issue that is dys-
cended of the bloude royall: yea, and your capitaines e-
qual with kynges, and if you do not now lay to youre

handes, I my selfe am lyke to become captiue. Deliuer
 you therefore my bowels out of prison, and restore to
 me my chyldren, for whose sake I do not refuse to
 die. Be you all sure that bothe my mother and my chil-
 dren (for my wyfe is dead in prison) be holdyng by theyr
 handes, crieng vnto the goddes, and callynge for your
 helpe, your compassion and fidelitie, that you would de-
 liuer them from seruitude, from setters, and from the
 estate they are in liuinge at other mens will & appoint-
 ment. Thinke you tht they can be content to liue vn-
 der such, as they coulde scarcely bouchsaue to haue for
 subiectes. I see that our enemies battailes do approche
 and the nearer the daunger is at hand, the lesse the wor-
 des I haue spoken do satisfie me. I make request to
 you by the goddes of our countrey, by the eternall fyre
 that is caried vpon the aulters, by the bryghtnes of the
 sunne that riseth within the boundes of myne Empyre
 and by the euerlasting memory of Cyrus, whych fyrste
 dyd take the Empire from the Medes and Lidians &
 gaue it to the Persians, to deliuer their name and thys
 nacion fr. in shame and reproche. Go forth cherefully,
 haue you good hope, and se that you restore to your po-
 steritie, the glozy you receiued of your yelders. Lo, you
 cary now in your handes your lybertye, youre helpe,
 and your hope in tyme to come. Who so euer contem-
 neth death, escapeth death, and death ouertaketh suche
 as do flie from death. I ryde here in a chariot, not only
 for that it is my country custome, but also that I may
 be seene of you all: And I desire nothyng so much as
 that ye wyl folowe me, whether I shewe you an ensam-
 ple of prowes or of cowardnes. In the meane season
 whyles Alexander dyd couet to eschue the place of pe-
 rill wherof he was warned, and enforced hym selfe to
 encounter

to encounter with Darius left battaile, where he remained in person, was compelled to fetch a compasse about. Whom when Darius perceiued, he turned likewise his own battaile towarde him, willing Bessus to appoint the Massagetes horsemen to geue a charge on Alexanders left battaile. He set before him his hooked wagons, which by a signe geuen brake out sodenlye vpon their enemies with a full course, to thintent that by their coming vnbewares, they myght do the greater destruction. The pikes that were set before in the wagons destroyed diuers, and many were torne asondre by the hooks that were on both sides. The Macedons gaue not place to them by a little, a little, but troubled their array with a maine flight. When Mazeus saw their disordre, he put them in more feare, and appointed out a thousand horsemen to fetch a compasse about the Macedons battailes to spoile their cariage, supposinge that the prisoners which were there kept, would brake their bandes when they should see their owne nacion approche. Parmenio which was in the left wing perceiued this matter well, and therfore sent by and by Polidamus vnto Alexander to shewe hym the danger, and knowe his pleasure what he woulde haue done. When he vnderstode the case by Polidamus: Go thy waye (quod he) and shewe Parmenio, if we wyne the battaile, wee shall not onely recouer agayne our owne, but shall haue also the spoile of our enemies. Therefore I would not that any parte of our force shoulde bee remoued from the maine battaile, but let him fight it out manfully, & not regarde the losse of baggage, wherein he shall obserue the honour of me, and my father Philip, whose custome was to do the like. In the mean season the Persians were entred amonges the cariages, & had slaine diuers

The battaile
fought at Ar-
bella betwixt
Alexander and
Darius.

that were left there in defence: wherupon the prisoners began to lose them selues, and takyng by whatsoeuer came to hand, toke part with the horsemen, and sharply assailed the Macedons. Diuers were so ioyful that they canne to beare tidinges to Sisigambis howe Darius had wonne the victorie, and had ouerthrowen his enemies to their great slaughter, and also that all theyr cariage was wonne, thinking the lyke fortune had bene euerye where, seynge they sawe the Persians fall to spoyle. And although they exhorted Sisigambis that she shoulde leaue her heuyness and reioyce, yet she continued in y^e same estate she was in befoze, without speaking one worde or chaunging colour or countenaunce, but sate styll immouable. She was so ouercome (as it was thought) with sodayne ioye, y^e she durst not stirre nor attempt fortune. for such as dyd beholde her, coulde not perceyue, whyche waye she was enclined. In the meane season Amintas, that was maister of the horse to Alexander, came with a fewe bandes of horsemen to succout the cariages, but vncertaine it was whither he did it of his own head, or by y^e kynges appointemēt. He was not able to endure the force of the Cadusians and Scythians. for scarcely attempting the skirmish, he was driue backe, & fled again vnto Alexander, being rather a witnes of the losse of the cariage, thē a rescuer of the same. The griefe that Alexander conceiued of this matter ouer came y^e purpose he toke befoze, & feared (not without cause) lest the souldiers through y^e carefulnes to recouer their swone, might leaue the fight, and resort towarde theyr baggage: he sēt therfoze Arctes capitayne of the speeremen y^e were named Sarisopherii againste the Scithes. By thys tyme the hooked wagons, which had somewhat troubled the forefront, were come within the

Amintas.

Arctes.

the square (which the Macedons call *Phalanx*) yet the souldiers neuer shonke at the matter, but receiued the into the middes of theyr battaile, where as ioyning the selues close together, they stode lyke a wal on both sides thrustyng theyr pikes into the bowels of the horses and ran about the wagons, throwynge downe suche as stode in the at defence. The whole battaile was entangled & troubled with the ruine & killynge of the horses with such as gouerned the. They coude not rule theyr horses when they were once galled and hurt: whyche with much leaping and strugling, not only brake out of theyr trace, but also ouerthrewe the wagons, drawyng at theyr tayles the men that were slayne, neyther being able to stande. styll for the feare they were in, nor yet go forwarde beinge so faine of theyr woundes. Yet a fewe of them passed through the battaile, whereby such as the wagons dyd lye vpon, were miserablye slayne, lieng vpon the ground with their members cut in sondre. Yet because they through the grenewesse of theyr woundes they felt litle paine, they kepte their weapons styll, notwithstanding they were maimed & without strenght til suche tyme as by continuall bleedynge, they sonke downe dead. Arctes in the meane tyme had slayne the capitaine of the Scythians that were spoylynge of the cariages, and repulsed them backe. But streyght waye came the Bactrians by Darius sendynge, and tourned the fortune of the field againe. Many Macedons were slayne at the first encounter, but moze fled vnto Alexander. Then the Persians made such a shovote as men are wont to do that wyne the victoery, and fiercely assailed their enemyes, thynkynge that they had in euery place bene put to flyghte. When Alexander perceiued his men shynke, to begyn to faynt, and geue ground, he

rebuked such as he sawe afrayed, and encouraged many that withdrew from the fight: so that he alone restored the battaile againe. When he had put them in hart, he required them to presse forwarde, and go on frelye agaynst their enemies. Alexander perceiuing that the Bactrians were departed to the descaling of the cariages, and by their going had left the ryghte hande battaile of Darius thynne and naked, he bente hys force wholly that way, and there made a wonderfull slaughter and destruction of his enemyes, which by reaso of their lose aray, were not able to withstand hym. The Persians in the left wyng seynge thys thing, were in hope to haue enclosed Alexander about, and came forwarde to set vpon his backe part, whereby great daunger had ensued to him being environed both before & behynde: if y^e Agrians had not put their spurres to their horses, and geuen a charge to their enemies, that were environynge the kynge aboute, and so compelled the Persians to tourne their faces agayne towardes them. The battailes thus were sore trauailed on both sides. Alexander had hys enemyes bothe before and behynde, and his enemyes that came on hys back were sore oppressed by the Agrians. The Bactrians also that had spoiled the cariages, were excluded from their own company, and coulde not recouer their place agayne. Thus the battailes were diuided in diuers partes, and fought one agaynst another as theyr chaunce fell. The two kynges, that ioyned theyr battailes harde one to another, renued agayne the fyght. There were mooste of the Persians slayne, but the numbze of the wounded were like on bothe sydes. Darius did ride in a chariot, and Alexander vpon an horse. They bothe had a choise bande about them, whiche were careles of theyr owne liues

lyues. For if their kynges shoulde miscary, neither they could be saue, nor yet desyre to lyue. Wherefore euerye of them thought it a noble thing to aduenture them selues befoze the face of theyr Prince. And he that coueted most to defende his maister, was in most peryll. for eche man desyred the honour to kill the kyng on his contrary part. There (whether it were an ymagination of the eyes, or a thyng done in deede) suche as were about Alexander, beleued that they sawe an Eagle flickeryng aboue his head, whiche neyther feared with clashing of the harneys, nor by the cryeng of them that were dyeng, hong styll in the ayre, a litle aboue him. Then Aristander whiche wore a white garment and caried laurell in his hand, shewed this thing vnto the souldiers being busy in fighting, as a certain token of victory. That thing caused them which befoze were in some doubt, cherefully & with great confidence, to assaile their enemies. The fight continued after this sort, vntill y time that he was slayne, whiche gouerned the hourse that drew Darius chariot. Then neither the Persians nor Macedons doubted, but that Darius had bene slayne. And the Persians vpon that ymagination made a barbarous noyle, and a sorowfull howlyng, wherwith they sore troubled and astonied theyr whole host, that were yet fyghtyng with equall victory. Darius kynsmen and the Squyres for hys body that were on hys left hand, left hym and fled awaye with a maine flyght: but suche as stode in hys defence on his right hande, conueyed hym into the hart of the battayle. It is sayed that Darius drew out his sword and was determyned dyuers tymes to kyll hym selfe, rather then to susteyne the shame of flyeng awaye. But when he sawe as he late aloft on hys Chariot, that a
great

great part of his army remayned yet fighting, he was ashamed to leaue them in such sort. And whiles he thus wauered in his opinion betwixt hoape & dispayre, the Persians by litle and litle gaue grounde, and shooke from their order. Alexander that had tyred manye horses, did at that instant chaunge a new, and strake at the faces of them that made resistance. There was none then that made resistance anye longer, but a manifest

Darius fled. slaughter fell on the Persians, and Darius turned hys chariot to flye away. The Macedons pursued hard after them that fled, and the dust that flew vp to the skye, toke awaye their prospect, so that they wandered as it had bene in darkenes, and euery drew together whē they heard any voyce they knew. One of the ratlyng & noyle of the chariot was a token for the Macedons to folowe after. As fortune was prosperous to the Macedons on this part, & contrarious vnto their enemies: so on the other syde where Parmenio in the lyft wyng encountred with the Persians, they had the better, and the Macedons the worse.

Mazeus. Mazeus with his whole bande gaue a great charge, and put the horsemen that stood in the winges to a sore dystresse. And therupon by reason he abounded with multitude, began to enclose the footemen about. Then Parmenio sent worde to Alexander in what daunger they were in, which he signified to be such, that except they had succour in tyme, they could not resist, but be enforced to flye awaye. Alexander was gone farre in the chase, whē this sorrowful message was brought hym. Wherefore he commaunded the horsemen to stape, and chafed wondrefully, that the victorie should thus be taken out of his handes, and that Darius had better fortune in flyeng, then he in his following. In the meane season the same of Darius ouer-

threwe

thow was brought vnto Darius. Wherfore though
 he had the vpper hand, yet he was strikē with such feare
 of hys fellowes misfortune, that he made a slacke pur-
 suite vpon their enemies. **P**armenio was ignoraunt of **Parmenio**
 the cause why the sight dyd slacke so willingly of their **encouraged**
 parte, but boldly vsing the occasion of the victorie, cal- **his souldiers**
 led the Thessalien horsemen vnto him and sayed: See
 you not howe our enemies that euen nowe gaue vs a
 fierce onset, be sodainly astraied, and withdraue them-
 selues? I see the fortune of our king doth geue vs the
 victorie. All the felde is strowen with the Persians,
 that be slaine. Why doe you therfore staye: are you not
 good enough for men that be flyeng? They sawe hys
 wordes had an appearaunce of a truth, and therfore by
 and by they tooke courage, and puttyng theyr spurres
 to the horse, gaue a full charge vpon their enemies, who
 retyred not by litle and litle, but marched away a great
 pace. And they wanted nothyng of flyeng, sauing that
 they had not yet directly turned theyr backs: yet for all
 that, in so much as **Parmenio** knew not what was be-
 come of the kyng, nor of his battayl, stayed and woulde
 not pursue after them. **Darius** hauyng leasure geuen
 him to flee at his libertie, passed the riuer of Tigre, not
 the next way, but by a further cōpasse about with moze
 suretie, and recouered the citie of Babilon, with the
 remaynes of that vanquished armye. In the meane
 season **Darius** with a fewe that accompanied hym in
 his flyeng came to the Riuer of Licus, where passyng
 ouer he stode in doubt whether he shoulde breake the
 bydge or no. For it was shewed hym that his enemies
 were at hand. But consideryng how many thousandes
 of his men by the breakyng therof shoulde be a praye to
 his enemies, he left the bydge standing, and at his de-
 part-

The dyscom-
figure,

parture, saied: that he had rather open the way to them that pursued him, then to shut it against them that fled after him. But Darius left not his flyeng till he came to Arbella, where he arriued about mydnight. Who is hable to conceiue in his mind, or expresse in wordes, the manifold chaunces in this discōfigure, the slaughter that fell both vpon capitaines and souldiers, the chasyng of them that were put to flight, & the destruction in particular and in generall: Fortune heaped together that one daye the chaunces of a whole world. Some tooke the way that came next to hande, another sort fled vnto the woddes, & sought out bypathes to escape suche as had them in the chace. There was a confusion of horsemen and footemen mixed together without anye head, the armed with the vnarmed, and the whole with the hurte. At lēgth the compassion that one had of another was turned into feare, and they that could not folowe, were left bewailing thē selues one to another. But thirst chiefly afflicted the wounded and weried, whiche laye alōg euery where in the wayes where any water was, gasping after it with open mouth. And when for greedines they had gulled in the troubled water, they began to swell, when the mudde once entered into theyr entrayles. And being thus not in case to moue, the enemy came and sturred them vp with newe woundes. Some, when the brookes neare hand were taken bp by other, sought out for springes in euerye secret place. Nor there was no puddle so drye nor so farre out of the waye, that could be hydden from the thyrst of them that searched them out. The olde men and women were heard howling and cryeng in al the villages neare the waye syde, howe Darius was yet their Kyng. Alexander (as it hath bene saied before) pursuing the chace, was

was come to the riuer of *Licus*, where as y^e multitude of the flyers was greater then coulde passe the brydge. So that many, when their enemies pursued theym, leapt into the water, and there laden with theyr armour, and werped with fyghtyng and flyeng, were consumed with the streame. But withyn a whyle, neither the brydge, nor the Riuer were hable to receyue the thzong that continuallye encreased by theyr vndyscrete flyeng. For when feare was once entered into theyr heartes, they doubted onely that which put them fyrst in feare. The *Macedons* were egre in the pursute of their enemies, & required *Alexander* that he woulde not suffre theyr enemies to escape free away. But he to stay the, alleged that their weapons were dulled, their hādes weryed, their bodies faint with long pursute, and the night besides fast appzoching on. But in very deede the care of his other battail, which he thought to be yet fighting, caused him to retourne to their succour. He had not so sone turned hys ensignes, but that certayne horsemen brought him worde from *Parthenio*, that he lykewise had put hys enemies to flyght. He was not in so great a daunger all that daye, as when he was comyng toward his campe. For there were but fewe that folowed him, and they were out of order, as men that reioysing of the victozy, iudged all their enemies either to be fledde or slayne in the fielde. So daynly there appeared a bande of *Persian* horsemen comyng agaynst them, which at the first stayed, but afterwarde perceiuing the small nūbre of the *Macedons*, gaue a charge vpon them. The king rode for most, rather dissimuling then despyling the perill he was in: but his perpetuall felicitie neuer failed him in extremities. For at the fyrst encountre he strake the capitayne of the *Persians*, who

The daunger
Alexander
was in at hys
retourne from
the chase.

in

in egrenes of the fight vnadvisedly came against hym, through with a speare. When he with that blowe was stricken to the grounde, Alexander slewe the next vnto him with the same staffe, and after diuers other. When his company sawe theyr enemies amased with his doynges, they brake vpon them, and threwe manye to the earth: yet they for theyr partes were not vntreuged, for the whole battaile dyd not so earnestly fight, as that small band assembled so by chaunce. But at lengthe when they sawe flyeng in the darke to be more suretye to them then fightyng, they shoked away in diuers companies. Alexander hauing escaped this extra ordinary perill, brought his men in sauegarde vnto hys campe.

The number
of the dead.

There were slayne of the Persians, which came to the knowledge of them that had the victorie. xl. M. and of the Macedons lesse then. ccc. whiche victorie Alexander wan more by his owne vertue, then by anye fortune: and with hardines & courage, more then through any aduantage of the ground. For he both ordered his battailes politikely, and fought manfullye. With great wisedome he contemned the losse of the baggage, considering the weight of the whole matter to consist in the battayl it selfe. Whiles the fortune of the fiede was yet doubtfull, he vled him selfe as assured of the victorie. And when he had put his enemies in feare, he rested not tyll he had set them flyeng, and that whiche scarcely can be beleued, in that fiercenes of courage, he pursued in the chase more wysely then greedely. For if he should haue folowed on styll, part of his power yet fyghting in the fiede, he should eyther haue lost the battayle through hys owne faute, or els haue wonne the victorie through the prowes of other men. Or if after he had gotten the victorie, he had shewed hym selfe

afraid

afraid of the horsemen that he met: he must either haue
shamefully fled, or haue bene miserably slayne. For his
capitaines were not to be defrauded of theyr commen-
dation: for the woundes that they did receiue, were to-
kens of theyr manhode. Ephestions arme was woun-
ded with a speare: Berdicas, Cenob, and Hemidas
with shot of arrowes were neare slayne. And if
we wil geue a true iudgement of the Ma-
cedons, that were there: we must con-
fesse that he was a king worthy
such ministers, and they men
worthy of suche a
mayster.

(.:)

The fifte boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.

If I shall make mention of the matters that
chaunſed in the meane ſeaſon both in Greece,
Illiria, and Thracia, by the appoyntment &
commiſſion of Alexander, in order as they fell:
the matters of Asia ſhould therby be interrupted, which
I thought moſt cōuenient to put wholly together, vntill
the death of Darius, and then to ioyne them in this
worke, as they agree with the tyme. I will fyrſt ſpeake
of thoſe thinges that enſued after the battaile at Ar-
bella, where Darius arrived about mydnight. And as
it chaunſed, the moze part of hys frendes, and of all o-
ther that were eſcaped from the ſielde, were come the-
ther. He called them all together, and ſpake to them in
this eſfecte: That he doubted not but Alexander and
hys men, gapiſg with greedy deſyre for the abundaunce
of ſpoyle that was in readines for them, woulde viſite
ſuch cities and countreyes of his, as were moſt notable
& plentiful of riches: which thing (he ſayed) conſidering
his eſtate, could not but turne at length to his auaille.
His purpoſe was (he ſaid) with a ſmal band to repaire
into the deſertes. And ſeeing the vttermoſt boundes
of hys kingdome were yet vntouched, he might from
thence eaſelye repayze his power agayne to renew the
warre. Let therfore that greedy nation (quod he) take my
treasure, & ſatiſfy their great hunger with gold, whiche
ſhortlye ſhall cauſe both the ſame and them alſo to be a-
ppay vnto vs. For he had learned (he ſaid) by experience
that

Darius wor-
des to them
that were fled
from the ſield

that the abundance of riches, and excelle of thynges, & theyr flockes of concubines and Eunuches were nothing els but burdens and impedimentes: whych Alexander possessyng and carieng about, should make hym inferiour vnto them of whom before he was victorious. His oration seamed to all men to be full of disperacion. For they sawe thereby that the rich citie of Babilon shoulde be geuen by vnto the Macedons, and Susa shortly after, with all other ornaments of the realme that were cause of the war. But he proceeded in perswading them, how that men in aduersitie ought not do thynges that should seame goodly in the speakyng, but necessary in the experience: That warres were made wyth iron, & not with gold, with men, and not wyth the walles of cities. for all thynges folowe them that be armed and in strength. He shewed that his auncetours were afflycted after thys maner in the beginning, and yet recouered agayne quickly their former estate. After he had spoken these wordes, eyther for that they were thereby encouraged, or els that they rather obeyed his auctoritie then lyked his counsel, folowed hym into the boundes of Media. Shortly after Arbella was geuen by vnto Alexander, whiche was full of riches and treasure, of precious stuffe, and princely apparail, and belydes the substance of the whole armie was left there. The sickness that began in Alexanders campe, risynge of the savour of the deade bodies scatered ouer all the fieldes, was the cause that he did & sooner remoue. The playne countrey of Arabia verie notable with the abundance of sweate odours there growyng, lay vpon the ryght hande as they marched. And so passed through the countrey lyng betweene Tigre and Euphrates, whych is so fat and plentyfull a ground, that the inhabyters be

A. i.

faine

Arbella presented vnto Alexander.

Arabia.

Tigre.

Euphrates.

Mesopotamia.

Menum.

faine to drive theyr beastes from feadyng, least they shoulde kylle theym selues by eatynge ouer muche. The cause of thys fertilitie commeth of the moysture that issueth from bothe riuers, dystrylling by beines throughe the grounde. Both these ryuers haue theyr begynnyng in the mountaynes of Armeny, where they be dytaunt .v. thousande .v. C. furlonges, and so runne forwarde keepynge theyr distance, tyl they come neare the boundes of Media and Gordia. For then by lyttle and lyttle the further they go, they draw moze neare together, leauynge lesse space betwixt them. They enclose on both sydes the countrey þis called Mesopotamia, from whence they runne throughe the boundes of Babilon into the read sea. After Alexander had chaunged his campe foure times, he came to a citie called Menum, where as there is a fountayne wythin a caue, that boyleth out great plenty of puche: so it appeareth that the Babilonians had theyr cemet from thence, whych they employed about the makynge of theyr huge walles. As Alexander was going fro thence towarde Babilon: Mazeus whiche was sayd before to haue fled from the battaile, came to meete hym in most humble maner, where as comitting his chylde into hys handes, ycldeed hym selfe, and rendred vp the citie. Hys commynge was very gratefull vnto the kynge, considerynge what traualle he shoulde haue susteyned in the siege of so stronge a City: if it had bene kepte agaynst hym. And besydes forsomuch as Mazeus was a man both famous, and valiaunt, & much noted for hys doynge in the last battaile, thought hys ensample shoulde much prouoke others to do the lyke. For that cause he receiued bothe hym and hys chylde in gentil maner, and yet gaue ordre to hys men, that they shoulde enter into the citie in such

araye

arraye of battaile as if they should fight. A great num-
 bre of þ Babilonians stoode vpon the walles, desirous
 to behold him that was their newe kyng. But the more
 parte went fourth to mete hym. Bagistenes that was
 capitayne of the castle, and keeper of þ kynges treasure
 because he would shewe hym selfe to be no lesse affectio-
 nat towards Alexander thā Darius was, strowed all
 the wayes where he should passe, with flowers and gar-
 landes, and set altiers of siluer on both sydes wyth fra-
 kenfence burninge vpon the same, and all other kynde
 of sweete odours. Next vnto hym came flockes of
 beastes, greate numbers of hores wyth Lyons, and
 Pardalles caried in cages, whiche he broughte to
 geue as presentes vnto Alexander. And after them the
 Magies, singung accordyng to theyr countrey maner.
 The Caldeis went next with their diuiners and pro-
 phetes, and then the musicians wyth their kyndes of
 instrumentes: whose propertie was to singe the praises
 of kynges, and the Caldeis vsed to declare the motiōs
 of the planets, wyth the course and reuolucyon of the
 time. Last in order came þ Babilonia horesmen, whose
 sumptuous furniture, bothe for them selues and theyr
 hores, tended more to voluptuousnes and delicacie, thē
 to any magnificence. Alexander that was enclosed a-
 bout wyth armed men willed that the Babylonians
 should come behind his footemen, and he rydyng alofte
 in hys charpot entred into the cite, and afterwarde
 into the palace, where the next daye he surueied Dari-
 us treasure and ryches. The beuty and pleasaunt-
 nes of that cite, gaue iust occasyon to Alexander and
 such as were wyth hym to wonder much vpon it. Se-
 mitamis was the builder therof, & accordyng to some
 mens opynion Belus, whose palace is to be scene there,

Bagistenes

The descrip-
tion of Babilo-
lon.Semiramis,
Belus.

ward 2 foor

ward 2 foor

The walles be made al of brycke set with a kind of pitch called Bitumen. And they be. **xxxii.** fote in bzeadthe, so that two cartes may easely go vpo the afront. They be in height. **C.** cubites, & the towers be. **x.** fote higher then the rest of the walles. The compasse of them about is **CCCLxviii.** furlonges, beinge builded (as it is leste in memozy) in so many daies. The houses stand p bzeadth of an acre distaunt from the walles, not builded throug out the cite, but onely by the space of **liii.** scoze & **x.** furlonges, & those not ioyned neare one to another, but for some consideracion diuided a sondze. The rest of the ground is sowed and tilled, to thintent that if any forein powze come against them, they should be able to be releaued by the fruite therof cōminge. The riuer of Euphrates doth runne throughe the myddes of the cite, & is kept in on bothe sydes with walles of a wounderfull workmanshyp. But the great caues made of brycke and set with pitche in stead of mortar, wrought low within the ground to receiue the violence of the streame, do excede all the rest of p woakes there made: for excepte the same were of quantitie and largenes to receiue p water when the streame floweth ouer p bankes that be made to kepe it in, the violence theroof shoulde beare downe p houses of the cite. There is also ouer that riuer a stone brydge which ioyne both partes of the cite togethers counted emonges the marueilous woakes of the Orient. For by reason that Euphrates is so full of mudde and owse, groundes can scarcely there be founde to lay the foundacyon vpon, and the streame besydes casteth vp such heapes of lande agaynst p brydge, that it is an impediment for the water frely to passe, and therfore beareth vpon the brydge with greater force, then if it had hys free recourse. There is also a castle that is. **xx**

The Castell
of Babilon.

fur

furlonges about the towres, wherof be. xxx. foote deepe within the ground, and. iiii. scoze foote in height aboue the ground. Where also the wonders are to be seene, so often mencioned in the Greeke poesies. For in the same be whole groaues of trees set by wouderful arte aboue the ground, so highe as the toppes of the towres, which be merueilous beutyfull and pleasaunt through their height and shadow that they make. The whole weight of them is sustained and borne by huge pillers made of stone, vpon whiche there is a flooze of square stone, that bothe vpholdeth the earth that lieth deape vpon the pyl- lers, and also the humsot wherwpyth it is watered. The trees that growe therupon be of eight cubites aboute, and as fruteful as if they grew in naturall earth. And althoughe procelle of tyme is wont by little & little not onely to destroye thinges made with hande, but also the very workes of nature: yet this worke, for all it is op- pressed with the rootes of so many trees, and burdened with the weight of so much earth, & of so greate a wood: Yet remaineth vpperished in any point, being sustey- ned vp with. xx. broad walles distant. xi. foote one from another. Whe these trees be sene a farre of, they seme to be a woode growing vpon a mountayne. It is sayde þ a king of Siria reignig in Babilō, builded this worke for his wiues fanthe, who for the loue she had to woodes and shadowie places, moued her husband in doing ther- of to counterfeit the plesaātnes of nature. Alexander tar- ried lenger there then in any other citie, which hurted moze the discipline of the Macedons in their warres, the any other place. For nothing was moze corrupt the þ maners & customes of that citie, nor anye other was moze abundantly furnyshed of all thynges, wherwpyth men be allured and sturred to excessiue pleasures. The

The customes
of the Babilo-
nians.

parentes and husbandes were cōtented for gayne that their children & wiues should haue company with such straungers as came emonges them. The kinges and nobilitie of Perse, delite much in banqueting pastime, but the Babilonians be specialle geuen therunto, to wyne, and to Drunkennes, where the women vse such a custome, that in the beginninge of the feast theyr appa- rayle semeth womāly and demure, but afterwarde by little and little they put of their vppermost garmētes, and laynge a side all shamesfastnes, do discouer theym selues naked. Whych vile custome is not vled by har- lottes onely, but by them al in generall, which counte & makynge of theyr bodies commen but a ciuilitie & good maner. In thys voluptuousnes and abhominaciō, the conquerour of Asia wallowed by the space of. xxxiii. Dayes, wherby he became muche the weaker to haue done other enterpryses, if he had had an enemy to stand against hym. But to thintent the harme he toke should be the lesse perceyued, he encreased hys power wyth a newe supplie of men. For Amintas the sonne of An- dromenes brought him from Antipater syxe thousande Macedon footemen, &.v.C. horsmen, & with them. v.C. Thracian horsmen, with. iiii. M. v.C. footemen of the same nacyon. He had also put of Deloponese. iiii. M. footemen, &. iiii. C. iiii. score horsmen being Mercenary souldiers. Amintas also brought wyth hym. A. younge men of the nobilitie of Macedonia to attende vpon Alexander's person: whose office was to serue the Kyng at meate, & to bring him his horse when he went to bat- taile. They accustomed to be about hym when he hun- ted, and kept the watche by course at hys chambze doore. These were they which afterwarde proued great ca- pitaynes, and that was the race, out of the whych & ru- lers

Amintas
came to Alex-
ander with a
new supplie
of men.

lers of their mē of warre did come. Alexander appoynted Agathō capitaine of y^e castle of Babilō, with .vii. C. Macedons, and .iii. C. Mercenary souldiers, and left Mynetas and Appollidozus geuernours of the cite & the countrey, to whom he assigned two. M. footemen and a. M. talentes, geuyng thē in commission to wage moze souldiers. He made Maseus that gaue the cite into hys handes, lieutenant of the whole, and caused Bagistenes that yelded vp th^e Castle to folowe him in hys warres. Armenia was geuen to Mithrenes that betrayed the cite of Sardos, & to encourage hys souldiers to the enterprysing of other thynges, gaue out of the treasure of Babilon to euery Macedon horseman. b. C. deniers, to euery horseman of the straungers. b. C. and to euery footeman two. C. When he had set orde in all these thynges, he came into the countrey called Satrapene which being plentiful of al thynges and abundaunt of vitayle, caused the kyng to tary the longer there. And lest idlenes should be any abatement of hys mennes courages, deuised to stur vp theyr spiritus and kepe them occupied, by appoynting iudges to trye out such as had shewed them selues mozte valyaunt in the warres, to whom he assigned rewardes due to theyr deseruynges. There were eyght founde out, whose doynge appeared aboue the rest, and the charge of a. M. men was committed to euery one of them: & were called Chiliarchi. That was the fyrst tyme they put a. M. in a band: for before that tyme they were diuided into. b. C. whiche was not counted any greate preferment or rewarde of seruyce. The number of them were greate that came to pleade theyr ryghte in thys bechalse, which before the iudges that gaue sentence, brought in testymonye of theyr doynge: whereby it could not be

Agathon,

Mynetas.

Appollidozus

Armenia,

The countrey
of Satrapene

ynknowen which of them had deserued iustely such ho-
nour or not. The first place was adiudged to old Dar-
chias, for his valiauntnes bled in the battaile at Alicar-
nasson, where he chieflly did restore agayne the syghte,
when the yonge souldiers had geuen it ouer. The secōd
place of honour was geuen Antigonus, and Philotas,
Angeus obtained the thyrd: the fourth was adiudged
to Amintas, the fift to Antigonus. Amintas the sonne
of Lincestes obtained the sixte. Theodoros the seuenth,
and Hellanicus the laste. Whereupon to greate purpose
he altered manye thynges that were bled by hys pre-
decessours in the discipline of warre. For where as be-
fore þe hoysmen of euery countrey were in seueral bādes
by them selues, he without respect of any nacyon ap-
pointed them such capitaines as he thought expedy-
ent. And where as at the remouyng of the campe war-
nyng was accustomed to be geuen by a trompet, the
sounde whereof in any noyse or tumult coulde not bee
sufficientlye hearde: he caused an hygh pole to be al-
waies set vp before his pavilion, whereupon remayned
a signe apparaūt to al men. The token that they obser-
ued was fire in the nyght, & smoke in the daye tyme. As
he was marchig towardes Susa, Abulites þe was ru-
ler of þe region, either by Dari⁹ cōmaūdement, thinking
by meanes of the spoile to deteine Alexander the lenger
there, or els of his owne frewill, sent hys sonne to mete
hym, profering the deliuey of the cite. The younge mā
was entreated very gently, & by hys conductō Alexā-
der passed forwarde, tyll he came to the ryuer of Hy-
daspis, which is counted to be a very delicate water.
Abulites there mette Alexander with princely & ryche
giftes, and presented hym amonges the rest of other
thynges Dromedarye camels that were wonderfull

Swift,

Abulites.

Hydaspis.

swift, with .xii. Elephantes that Darius had sent for
 out of India, to be a terrour to þe Macedons, which now
 were become an increase of their strength. Whē the ri-
 ches of the banquet was come into the victors
 handes: He founde in that citie an incredible treasure,
 i. M. talentes of Massy silver uncoyned: which riches Susa where
Alexander
found increas-
able treasure
 gathered together in the space of many yeres by dyuers
 kinges for theyr succession and posteritie, thus in a mo-
 ment came into the handes of a forayne prince. Alexan-
 der being lodged within the palace, did syt downe in
 Darius seate: whiche being higher then serued for hys
 stature, by reaso his feete could not reache to the ground:
 one of the kynges pages put a boarde vnderneath for
 him to treade vpon. At þe doynge wherof, one of the Eu-
 nuches that belonged to Darius looked heaulye, and
 fetched a great sigh, whose sadnes whē Alexander per-
 ceiued, he enquired of him the cause. He answered, that
 when he beheld the board wherupon Darius was wont
 to eate employed to so base an vse, he could not beholde
 it without great grieue. Alexander being therfore asha-
 med, so muche to mysuse the thing that before was had
 in such reuerence, caused the same to be taken awaye.
 But Philotas made request he shoulde not so doe, but
 rather take it as a diuinityon of hys good lucke and
 fortune, that the table wherupon his enemy dyd eate,
 shoulde nowe become subiect vnder his feete. Alexan-
 der purposing from thence to passe into Perse, commit-
 ted the citie of Susa to Archilaus with .iii. M. men of Archilaus.
 warre, & to xenophilus the charge of the castle, leauynge xenophilus.
 such Macedons as were aged there in guarison. But
 he did betake the heping of the treasure vnto Callicra- Callicrates.
 tes, and restored to Abulites the gouernemēt and prin-
 cipalitie of the countrey of Susa, leauynge within the
 citie

Alexander hys
excuse to Si-
tigambis of
the present he
sent her.

citie Darius mother & his childzen. And for asmuch as Alexander had at the same time plenty of cloth of purple sent him out of his countrey, with garmentes ready made after the Macedonians maner: for the honour he bare to Sitigambis (whom he had in reuerence as if she had bene his mother) thought good to present part of those to her, with the persons that vled to make them: and willed it should be told her if she lyked them, she should accustome her neces to make the lyke, & geue them for presentes. At the declaryng of whiche message the teares ran out of her eyes, whiche declared the gyft not to be acceptable to her: for the Persian women take nothing in more despyte, then to put theyr handes to wolle. When report was made to Alexander in what sort she had receiued his present, thought both the matter meete to be excused, and her to be comforted. Therefore he came to visite her, & saied: This garment which I weare, was both of the gift & makynge of my sisters: our customes brought me into errour. Therefore I require you, that ye will not take mine ignoraunce in euill part. I trust that otherwyle I haue obserued sufficiently all thinges which I knewe to be your customes. When I vnderstoode that it was not lawfull enioyned you for the sonne to syt in the mothers presence, except she doth geue him leaue: when soeuer I came vnto your presence, I would neuer sit tyll you wylled me so to do. You would ofte times haue falle dowe & worshipped me, but I would not suffer you: but haue euer honoured you, & geue you the name due to my sweete mother Olympiades. When the king with these wordes had well pacified her, he departed, & by foure encampings came vnto a Riuer that the countrey men call Pasatigras: which springyng in the mountaynes of the Arions, it

Pasatigras.

runneth

runneth steepe downe emonges the rockes with woody
 banks by the space of .50. furlonges: but then descēdyng
 into a plaine, it becommeth nauigable; and so runneth
 with a moze quyet stream, & in a softer ground by the
 space of .vi. c. furlonges, till such time as it doth enter in
 to the Persian sea. Alexander passyng this riuer with
 nyne thousand footemen of the Macedons, with the A-
 grians, the mercenarie Greekes, & with .iiii. thousand
 Thracians, came emonges the Arions, whose countrey **The Arions**
 is neare vnto Susis, & stretcheth out into Persia, lea-
 uing betwixt it and Susis a narrow streyght. **Mada-**
tes had the rule of that countrey, who was such a man
 as was rare at that time: for he determined to abide the
 extremitie for his duties sake. Such as knew the coun-
 trey did enfourme Alexander & there was a priue way
 through the hylles, wherby men myght get to the fur-
 thermost syde of the chiefe citie of that countrey: & if he
 would send a few that were light armed, they might be
 brought to a place where they shoulde appeare aboue
 their enemies heades. This counsaile liked him so wel,
 that he made & counsailers guydes, and committed the
 to Tauron, whom he appointed chiefe of & enterpryse. **Tauron**
 He assigned to him a .M. b. C. mercenarie souldiours,
 and a thousand Agrians, with whom after the sunne
 was gone downe, he entered into his iourney. Alexan-
 der in the third watch remoued hys campe, and by the
 spring of the daye had passed the streyghtes. There he
 set his men in hand to cut downe timbre for & makyng
 of towers, and all other suche thinges as perteyned to
 the assault of a citie, and so began hys sicge. It was a
 difficult matter to make the approche: the citie stode
 so hygh, and the rockes gaue such impediment, where-
 by the souldiers were repulsed, & receiued many hurtes
 con-

contendyng bothe with thenemyes and the situation of the place. Notwithstandyng they geue it not ouer, by reason the kyng was euer emonges the formost, asking of them if they were not ashamed beyng the conquerours of so manye cities, to be so long in the winning of a small castle, that was so obscure and vnknownen in the world. As he was trauelyng emonges the rest, they dyd shoote and cast stones at him from the walles: whom the souldiours defended with theyr targes, because they coulde not remoue him awaye. At length Tauron appeared aboue the castle of the cite: at whose syght the enemies heartes faynted, and the Macedons the more fierlye dyd assaile them. When they sawe them selues in this extremitie, and perceiued their poure not habile to withstād the Macedons, they became of dyuers dispositions. For some were determined to dye, and manye to flye awaye. But the greater part rettyed them selues into the castle, from whence they sent vnto Alexander. xxx. Embassadours to aske mercy. But he gaue vnto them a sorrowful aunswere, that there was no pardon to be obtained at his handes: Whereupon they being in doubt of death, and excluded fro all other remedies, sent vnto Sisigambis by a pryuy way vnknewen to their enemies, makynge their request & she would vouchsaue to be a meane to Alexander for the pacifyng of his rigour & wrath towarde the. In her onely they put their hoape, knowing howe much Alexander loued her, and that he esteemed her as if she had bene his mother. And they thought she would & rather encline to their desyre, because Medates & was capitain there had married her sisters doughter, wherby he became a kyn to Darius. Sisigambis stode long in denyall of theyr request, shewyng that it agreed not with

with her fortune to become an intercessour for others,
 adding therunto, that she feared lest she myght misuse
 the victors sauiour, and make him wery of her: for she
 saied that she had moze remembraunce that she was pri-
 soner, then that she was a quene. But at length she was
 ouercome with their sute, and by her letters made in-
 tercession vnto Alexander after suche a sort, that she
 fyrst excused her selfe of her suite makynge, and after re-
 quired him that he would pardon them, or at the least
 wayes that he would forgeue her beyng petitioner but
 for the lyfe only of such one, as was her frende and her
 kynsman, & nowe no lenger any enemy to his maiesty,
 but in readines to submit himself. This one matter is
 sufficient to declare the moderation and clemency that
 was then in Alexander: for he did not onely pardon
 Madates, but also left the citie vntouched, grauntynge
 to all that were within it both libertie and freedome,
 with enioyment of their landes & goodes, without pay-
 ing of any tribute, moze then p which she could not haue
 obtained of Darius being her sonne. When he had thus
 subdued the Arions, he annexed them to the prouynce
 of Susa, and purposynge to passe forwarde, diuided
 his army into two partes, wherof he committed the one
 to Parmenio to be conducted by the playn countrey,
 and reseruing suche a parte as was pestered least with
 baggage, toke the way of the mountaynes, which with
 a continual ridge, runneth out in length from thence in
 to Persie. In his passage he destroyed al the mountain
 countrey, arrivynge the .iii. day in the boundes of Persia.
 The fyft daye he entred into the streyghtes of Dilae
 Susidae, which were defended by Ariobarzanes with
 .xviij. M. foremen, who keeping the toppes of the high and
 stepe rockes, that hong ouer on both sydes the waye, at
 the

Ariobarzanes kept the
 streight be-
 twixt Susa
 and Persia.

the fyrst kept them selues quyet of purpose, pretending a feare, untill such time as the armye was entered into the narrowest of the streyght. But when they saw the Macedons passe on forwarde in their contempt, then they threwe downe great stones vpon them: which falling vpon the nethermost rockes, and there breaking in peaces, rebounded among the Macedons, falling with such violence, that they distressed whole bandes at once. And besides they dyd them great damage with shot of arrowes, & stones that they did cast out of slinges. Such as were men of courage were not so much grieved with the death and destruction that they saw there presently, as y they should be slaine after such a maner lyke beastes caught in a pit, where as they could not be reuenged vpon theyr enemies. Their wrath herupon was turned into suche a rage and woodnes, that they ran vp against the rockes, & there enforced them selues by takyng holde, and by heauyng vp one of another, to mount vp vnto their enemies. But when they had caught holde vpon some outward parte, and therby laboured to ascend, by force of so many handes that fastened to it at once: they pulled a sonder the thyng they helde by, and so fell downe all togethers. In thys case they could neither remaine, passe forwarde, nor yet defend the selues by any deuise they could make with their tergets, seeing the stones were of suche weight y were throwen downe vpon the. Alexander was in great trouble of mynde, not onely for the grieve he receiued by the destruction of his men, but muche more for the shame that he had so rashely brought his armye into suche a dangerous streight. He had bene inuincible before that daye, and neuer attempted thing in vaine. He had passed the streightes of Cilicia without damage, and opened

ned to himselfe a newe waye by Sea into Pamphilia. Which felicitie of his seemed then to be at a stay, & plucked backe: for he could perceiue no other remedy, then to returne by the way he came. He caused the retreat therfore to be blowne, & gaue order to his souldiours to go close together, & by casting their tergets ouer their heads returne backe agayn, after they had marched .xxx. furlonges within the streight. When he was returned & had planted his campe in an open ground, consulting what was best to do: such a superstition entred into his mind, that he called for the priestes & diuiners to helpe the matter by their inuocation. But Aristander to whom he gaue most confidence, could do nothing in that case. Alexander therfore condemning their sacrifices which he thought then done out of tyme, called for such as knew the countrey. They shewed him of an other way that was plaine & open ynough: but yet he lyked it not: he was so ashamed to leaue his souldiers vnburied that were slaine. For amonges al other ceremonies obserued in the discipline of their warres, there was none more religiously kept, then the burying of the dead. He caused therfore suche prisoners as were lately taken, to be called before him: amonges whom there was one expert both of the Greeke and Persian tounge, which shewed to the king that he laboured in vaine, if he thought to couey his army ouer the toppes of those mountaynes, which (he saied) began at mount Caucasus, & closed in the one side of Persie, by the space of .M. vi. C. furlonges in length, & .cix. in breadth, til such tyme as they come vnto the sea, which also enclosed the countrey vnto the place where the mountaynes celled. The countrey lyeng at the foote of the mountaynes, he described to be playne, fruitfull, and replenyshed with manye fayre cities and villages, and that the Riuer of

Arax

The description of the streight and the countrey therunto adjoining.

Araxes
Medus.

Araxes runnyng through the same, falleth into another riuer called Medus, bringyng with it the waters of many small streames. Which riuer of Medus being muche lesse then the same whiche it doth receiue, runneth from thence toward the South sea. No place coulde be moze abundant of grasse: for euery where neare vnto the water, the ground was couered ouer with floures. The Riuer was shadowed ouer with Platyne and Poplar trees, which by reason they stand somewhat hygh, & the water runneth lowe in a deape chaneil, seeme to such as be a farre, to be woodes adioynyng to the mountaynes. He counted no countreye in all Asia to be moze holesome, or to haue moze temperate ayre then this, both by reason of shadowy mountaine that euermoze defendeth the heate, and also of the sea, which on that parte beyng at hand with a certayne temperature doth nourish the ground. When the prisoner had made a description of the countrey after this maner, the king enquired of him whether he knew those thinges by report, or els had seene them with hys eyes. He sayed that he had bene an heardman, and knewe the countrey very well, and all the passages. And that he had bene twyle taken prisoner: once by the Persians in Licia, and now the second tyme by hym. Upon those wordes Alexander called an oracle to memory, whereby it was signified to him that a Lician shoulde be hys gypde into Persie. Wherfore promysing to hym suche rewardes as the present necessitie required, and as his estate was meete to receiue, willed him to be armed after the Macedons maner, & to be theyr gypde to shew them the waye. Whiche though he had declared to be but streyght & difficult, yet Alexander put no doubt to passe it with a smal nūbre: thinking it an easy matter

to passe that place for gloꝝy & perpetual cōmendacion & the herdsman had passed often tymes in fedyng of hys beastes. Then the prisoner left not to alledge the difficulties of the waye, specially for such as ware armour. But the kynge said to hym: Take me for suertye that neuer one of them that be appoynted to the, shall refuse to go, where thou shalt passe. That done he left Craterus with & charge of hys campe, and he hym selfe passed forwarde with such footemen as were accustomed to hys person with those bandes of whom Meleager had charge, and with a thousande Archers on horsebacke, taking first orde wyth Craterus, that he should kepe hys campe in such fourme as it had bene vsed before, and cause many fires to be made of purpose, that the enemyes might the rather thinke hym to be there still present: he aduised hym further that if he perceiued Triobarzanes to get knowlege of hys enterpryse, and so to sende parte of hys power to the stoppyng of hys passage, that then by pretending of an assault he should shewe al & terrour he could to drawe hys enemies from hym to the defence of that place. But yf that he hym selfe shoulde deceyue hys enemyes, and recouer the hyl upon them, that the upon & heatyng of the alarme in & Persies campe preparing the selues to hys resistance, he should not doubt to passe that way from which they were repulsed the daye before, iudging they should find no resistance, the enemyes being conuerted towarde hym. In the thyrde watch he set forwarde in greate silence, without blowing of trumpet, & passed on by such waye, as was shewed him by the guide euery souldier that was light armed carieng three dayes viſtalle. But when he was on hys waye, besides the wild rockes and sharpe stones that caused the oſt to sayle their fotyng,

Craterus

Meleager

the snow also driven with the wynde, was a great impediment to them in theyr iourneys. For they fell dyuers tymes downe into pittes, and such as coueted to pull them out, were oft tymes drawen after. The night also wyth the countrey unknowne, and the gypde of whose fidelitie they doubted, encreased muche theyr feare: consideringe that if they should not deceiue theyr enemies watch, they should be take lyke bestes. They waied also that both theyr sauegard and the kynges lay in the handes of one that was a prisoner. At length they came to a mountaine, where as the way towarde Ariobarzanes lay on the right hande. Then he sent before by the guidynge of suche as they had taken prisoners, Philotas, Cenon, Amintas, & Policarpon with a band of the lightest armed, whom he aduised that forasmuch as they had both horsmen and fotmen, and the countrey fertyll and habundaunt of fodder: that they shoulde make no hast, but passe forwarde sayre and easely. And he with y^e esquires of his body, & the band of horsmen y^e they caled Agenua, was guided by another bi path farre of fro y^e place where his enemies kept their watche. But y^e passage was so streight & so hollow, y^e they suffred great trouble & veracion in passing therof. It was midday, & they were so weryed, that of necessity they must take rest, hauing so farre to go & as they had trauailed alreedy, sauing y^e the way was not so difficult nor so rough. He refreshed therfore his men with meat & with sleape, & in y^e second watche dyd rise vp & passed the reste of hys iourney without any great dyfficultie, sauyng in that parte where y^e mountayne began to fall aslope towarde the playne, their passage was sodenly stopped by a great gull made with the violence of the streames that ranne down the mountaines, by wearing away of

away of þe earth. And besides þe trees stāding so thicke,
 & the bowes that grewe one vnto hin another, appeared
 before the as a continual hedge. When they sawe them
 selues staied after this manner, such desperacion fell e-
 monges them, that they coulde scarcely absteyne frome
 teares: the darkenes beyng a great encrease of theyr
 terrour, sayng they could not enioy any benefite of the
 starres. For if any gaue light, the same was taken a-
 waye by the shadowe of the trees. And the vse of the
 eares could not serue for one to receiue counsell and
 comforte at an other, the wynde whizzled so amonges
 the leaues, and the shaking of the bowes made such a
 noyse. But at length the daye which they so muche de-
 sired, diminished wth his light the terrours that the
 darknes of the nyght did make. For by fetching of a lit-
 tle compasse about, they passed þe holow gulle, and eue-
 ry man began to be a guide. Finally they gotte by in
 the toppe of the hyll from whence they myght beholde
 their enemies lying in campe. Then the Macedons
 shewed the selues stoutly in theyr armour, appearyng
 sodenly on their backs, when they mistrusted, no such
 thyng, and these slew such as came fyrr to en-
 countre wth them. So that on the one parte the
 greuous noyse of them that were slayne, and the mys-
 erable shoute of such as ran in for succour amonges
 theyr owne companie, put the rest to flyght wthoute
 makinge any resistance. When the alarme was once
 heard in the campe where Craterus lay, the army by &
 by passed forwarde to go through the streyghtes, in
 the which they were repulled the day before. Philotas
 also wth Poliperco, Cenos, and Amyntas, which were
 gone the other waye: arrived at the same tyme, & gaue
 a further terrour vnto theyr enemies. When þe Persians

sawe theyr enemies assaylynge in all partes at once,
 though they were so opprest with their sodaine inuasio
 that at the fyrst they were in doubtte what to do: yet at
 length they assembled to geather and fought notably,
 necessitie styrreng vp the faintnes of theyr hartes: for
 oftentimes dyspayre is cause of mennes good hope.
 They beyng vnarmed, closed with the þ were armed, &
 wyth the weyght of their bodie pulled theyr enemies
 to þ earth, and killed diuers with their owne weapons.
 Artobarzanes wyth forty horsemen, and fye thousande
 fotemen that kept about his person, brake throughe the
 battaile of the Macedons, to þ great slaughter both of
 hys owne men and of hys enemies, and by makynge of
 hast, recouered Persepolis the chiefe cite of the coun-
 trey. But when he was excluded from thence by suche
 as were within, he renued agayne the fight wyth such
 as were wyth hym & so was slaine: by þ tyme Craterus
 that made all the speede he could deuise was come vnto
 them, & Alexander fortified hys campe in the same place,
 where he dyd disconfite hys enemies. For though they
 were all fled and he certayne of the victorie, yet because
 he found his way stopped in many places wyth greute
 and deape diches, he thought good to vse circumspen-
 sion, and not to make ouer great hast: not so muche for
 feare of hys enemies force, as of the nature of þ ground
 which he sawe apte for them to laye embulhementes
 agaynst hym. As he was passing forwarde, he recei-
 ued letters from Tyrydates the keeper of Darius trea-
 sure, signyfenge that þ inhabitants of Persepolis hear-
 yng of hys coming, were about to spoyle the treasure,
 and that therfore he shoulde make haste to prevent the
 matter: for the way was ready inough, notwithstanding
 that the ryuer of Araxes was in hys way. There was

Tyrydates

no vertue in Alexander more commendable then hys
celeritie, whiche he shewed specially in thys matter: for
leaving his souldiers behind, he trauailed al nyght with
hys horsemen, and by the day light came to the riuer of
Araxes. There he found villages at hande, where of
the tymber broken downe of the houses, they made
a bridge in a momēt, by the helpe of stones whych were
layde in the botome of the riuer. When Alexander was
passed the ryuer, & came neare vnto the cite, a cōpany
met hym so miserable, as seldome haue bene founde in
any memozy: the same were Greekes, to the number of
iii. thousand, whom the Persians befoze tyme had ta-
ken prisoners, and afflicted wyth diuers kyndes of tor-
mentes. For of them some had theyr feete cut of, some
theyr handes, and other theyr eares, but all were
marked in the fleshe wyth hote yrons. The Persians
hauing maimed and deformed them after thys maner,
kept and reserued them styll, as a memozy of the despise
towards the nation. But when they sawe that they shuld
become vnder the obedyence of another pryncce, they
suffered the Greekes to mete Alexander. They appeared
rather to be the Images of some straunge monsters,
then of men: for nothing could be discerned, or knowen
in them but theyr voyce. The compassion of theyr wret-
ched estate caused the beholders to let fall no fewer teares
then they dyd them selues. For it coulde not appeare
whiche of them were most myserable, though theyr
afflictions were diuers. But when they cried out be-
foze Alexander, that Jupiter the reuenger of Grece
had opened theyr eyes in beholding him that should de-
liuer them: they iudged then all theyr griefes as one.
Alexander wiped the teares from hys eyes, and wyl-
led them to be of good cheare, for that they shuld both

Persepolis

Entymeon
oration

see theyr countrey and theyr frendes, & he encamped in the same place, where he mette the, beyng two furlonges from persepolis. The Greekes dawe themselves together to consult what was best for them to demaunde of Alexander, and when some were of opinio to aske dwelling places within Asia, & others had moze minde to retourne vnto theyr countreys: Entymeon Cimeus spake thus vnto them. We that were euen now ashamed to put our heades out of the prison & darkenes we were in to make sure for our owne aide & reliefe, are becomen of such simplicitie, that we presently desire to shewe vnto Greece as a pleasaunt spectacle our infirmities and mannes, wherof we haue as much cause to be ashamed, as to be sorowfull. You must thinke y such beare theyr miseries best, which can finde the meanes to hyde them most, & that there is none so familiar a countrey to men that be vnfortunate, as solitarines and forgetfulness of theyr former estate. For they which make an accompte of their frendes pitie & compa. Tyon, know not howe sone theyr teares will drie vp: no creatures can loue faythfully whom they abhoze. For as calamitie of hys nature is querelous, so felicitie is alwaies proude, and euery one doth vse to consider his owne fortune, when he iudgeth of an other mans: for except we had all bene in miserie, one of vs longe ago had bene wery of an other. What meruayle is it then though me in felicitie seke alwayes theyr equalles. My opinion is therfore that we (as we whiche longe ago were as dead in thys life) seke vs a place wherein we may hyde our maimed members, and where as exyle maye hyde our horrible scarres. If we shall retourne into our countrey, beyng in thys case, howe can we but be vngratefull to our wyues wch me we marped younge. Or shal our childre or our brethren acknowledge

acknowledge vs being prison slaues: and though all
 thynges should there succede as we would wysh, yet
 howe imal a number of vs be hable to trauaile thzough
 so many countreys: Howe is it possible for vs that be
 here banished into the vttermoste boundes of the Ori-
 ent, aged, impotent, maimed, to suffre those thynges,
 whiche haue tyzed men, that were in force and victori-
 ous: It is to be axed what shall become of our wyues
 whom chaunce and necessitie hath gotten vnto vs here
 for the onely comfote of our prisonement: what shall
 we do wyth our children we haue begotten heare: take
 them wyth vs, & leaue them behynde vs: If we re-
 turne wyth suche as we haue heare, none of those in
 Greece wyll acknowledge vs: and shall we then be so
 madde to leaue those comfortes we haue alreadye, be-
 ynge vncertayne whether we shall come to those we
 seke or no: Verely muche better it were for vs, to hyde
 our selues emōges them which haue bene acquainted
 wyth vs in our myserie. These were Entymeon hys
 wordes: But Theatus of Athens reasoned to the cō-
 trary. There is no creature (qd he) in whome remay-
 neth anye sparke of honestye, that wyll esteeme vs by
 our outward shape, seynge that our calamitye is not
 come of nature, or by our owne deservinge, but thzough
 misfortune, and our enemyes crueltie. Suche as bee
 ashamed of fortunes chauncles, are well worthy to suf-
 fer misaduenture. They geue a greuous sentence
 vpon the estate of mans mortalitie, & dispaire muche of
 mercy, that deny their cōpassion to mē in misery. Now
 therefore since þe goddess haue offered to you the thyng
 whych ye durst neuer haue wyshed for: that is your
 countrey, your wyues, & your childzē, being the thynges
 whiche men esteeme more then life, and redeme often

Theatus
wordes

tymes with death: why do you doubt for the enioyment
of those thynges to breake out of thys imprisonment?
Iudge the ayer of our owne countrey most naturall
to vs, where me thinkes is an other maner of liuyng,
other customes, other religion, & another tongue, which
for the pleasauntnes is coueted of þ barbarous nacpions.
What great thynges then be those that ye would wyl-
lingly leaue, þ want of which only is the cause of your
misery? My opinion is playne þ we visite our countrey
and our home, and not refuse so great a benefite as Al-
lexander hath profered vs. If any be so detained wyth
the loue of such wyues and children as they haue gotten
here in seruitude, let such be no impediment to others,
that of all thynges esteeme most theyr naturall coun-
trei. There were but fewe of hys oppnyon: for cus-
tome that is of greater force then nature, preuailed in
that matter. They agreed to demaunde of Alexander
the gifte of some place to inhabite in, and there chose
out an hundred to be luters vnto hym in that behalfe.
When Alexander perceiued them conuining towards
hym, thinking that they would haue required the thing
that he conceiued in hys mynde: I haue appoynted to
euery one of you (qð he) beastes to cary you, and a .M.
Deniers, and when you shall come to Greece, I wyll so
much prouide for you, þ excepting your misfortune, no
other shall thinke thē selues in better case thē you. But
whē he sawe thē lōke stil towards þ ground, and þ they
neither listēd vp theyr eyes nor spake one word, he en-
quired þ cause of theyr heauines. Then Cinyon re-
hearted againe those thinges in effect which he had spo-
ken befoze in counsaile. The king therfoze pitience no
leste their demaūde, thē he did their misfortune: commaū-
ded .iii. M. deniers to be geuen to euery one of them, &
garmentes

garmentes besides, with cattel, and cozne, wherby they myght till and sow the lande that should be appointed vnto them. The next day he assembled all the capitaines of hys armye togethers, and shewed them that there was no citie moze enemy to the Greeces, then the same that was the chiefe seate of the auncient kynges of Persie, from whence all the great armie had bene sent into Greece: and howe Darius fyrst, and after Xerxes had come out of that place to moue their vniust warre against Europe, with the destruction of which citie, he thought good to reuenge their predecessours. The inhabiteurs had abandoned the citie, & fled where feare did driue them. Whereupō the king streight waies brought in all his souldiers to the spoyle therof. He had befoze that time wonne many cities: some by force and some by composition, that were full of riches, & princes treasure. But the abundance of that citie did excede all the rest, as in the place where the Persians had layed theyr whole substance. Gold and siluer was there founde in heapes, and great plente of ryche vestures and furnimentes of houses, not onely for necessitie and necessary vse, but for excelle and ostentation: which was so great, that it gaue the victorours occasion to fyght emonges the selues, eche taking other for enemies, that had gotten the richest spoyle. The plente there was suche, that they coulde not employe to their vse the riches they founde, but when they sawe thynges of value, esteemed them rather then tooke them away: Tyll such time that euery one coueting, to haue a part of euerye thing, take and brake a sonder the princely robes, and the precious plate of curious workmanship, with ymagines of gold & siluer, whiche were either beaten in gobbets or plucked in peaces, as euery one caught holde: nothing was left

The taking
of Persopolis.

left vntouched, nor nothing caried awaye whole: cruel-
 tie bearing no lesse rule there then couetousnes, euerye
 one was so loaden with gold and siluer, that they este-
 med not the keepyng of prisoners, but kyled suche as
 they first spared in hoape of gayne. There were many
 therfore that preuented their enemyes handes with
 voluntary death, and diuers that clothyng them selues
 in their most precious apparaile, leaped downe from
 the walles with their wiues and childre. Certain there
 were that set their owne howses on fyre, (whiche they
 iudged their enemies woulde els haue doone shortlye
 after) because they would burne them selues amonges
 their owne familie. At length the king dyd forbide any
 violence to be done to women, and that no man should
 meddle with any thing pertainyng to them. The summe
 of money taken within thys Citie, was greater then
 any man could well credyt: but eyther we must doubte
 of the rest, or els beleue that hath bene left in memo-
 ry, howe that the treasure there founde, amounted to
 a hundred and twenty thousand talentes: whiche trea-
 sure because that Alexander purposed to employ in his
 warres, caused horse and camels to be brought from
 Susis and Babilon to carye the same. The takyng of
 the citie of Persagadis, wherin was found sixethous-
 sande talentes, was an encrease to this summe, which
 Citie being builded by Cyrus, was yelded by Gobares
 that had the keeping therof. Alexander left in
 the Castle of Persopolis, threethousande Macedons
 in guarison vnder Nicarides capitayne of the same,
 and reserued to Tiridates that deliuered him the trea-
 sure, the same honour that he enioyed with Darius.
 Leauing in thys citie the greater parte of his armye,
 with hys cariages vnder the rule of Parmenio and

Crates

The treasure
 taken at
 Persopolis.

Persagadis

Gobares,

Nicarides.

Craterus: he with a thousand horsemen and a bande of footemen without any baggage, went to visite in the winter season the inward partes of Persie. There he was vexed & troubled with stormes & tempestes & were in maner intolerable: but yet he letted not to goe forwardes in his enterpryse to the place that he appointed. In his iourney he came vnto a countrey that was couered all with snow, and frosen by force of the great colde. The wildenes and desert maner therof, put the souldiers & were weryed with trauaile in such a feare & terrour, that they ymagined to haue seene the vttermoste boundes of the world. For when they beheld all thinges wast, and no signe appearing of mans habitation, they were amased, and made request to retorne againe, before that the light and the elementes should fayle them. The king would not chastise the being in this terrour, but leaped from his horse, & went on foote in the snowe and the yce. Whiche thing when his frendes sawe, they could not for shame but folow: then & capitaines byd & lyke, and finally the souldiours. The king was the first that did breake the ice & made him self a way, whose ensauple the rest did folow. At length hauing passed the woodes that were without way, they founde here and there some appearaunce of habitation, and perceyued flockes of shepe. When the inhabitours that dwelled in cotages dispartyled there aboutes saw men commyng, whom they iudged to be their enemies, thynking they had bene enclosed about, flew such as wer not hable to folow them, and fled to the wild mountaines that were full of snowe. But at length by communication with such as they toke prisoners, their wildnes was somewhat mitigated, & they yelded them selues to Alexander, who he hurted not any kind of way. When he had destroyed all

The Persians

all that part of Persie, & brought the towne vnder hys
 obediēce: he came into þe countrey of the warlike Mada-
 dons, which differed much from the rest of þe other Per-
 sians in their maner of liuing. They with their wyues
 and children dyd inhabite within caues in the moun-
 taines, and liued with the fleshe of shepe, & wyld bea-
 stes. For the women accordyng to their kynd had anye
 more apperaūce of mekenes or mildnes then the men,
 eyther in their personages or dyspositions. But theyr
 curled heare did hang downe befoze vpon theyr faces,
 and theyr garmentes came but to theyr knee. The
 bandes of their slinges were fillets for their forheades,
 which they vled bothe for ornamēt, and for defence.
 Thys nation for all their vnciuile and rude maner,
 coulde not escape to be subdued with the same force of
 fortune that others were. So that the xxx. daye after he
 departed from Persopolis, he returned thither againe.
 Then he gaue rewardes to hys frendes, and to all the
 rest accordyng to their deseruing, distributyng in ma-
 ner all the riches whiche he founde within that Citie.
 But all his excellent vertues of the mynd, his princely
 qualities, wherein he excelled all kynges, both that con-
 stancy in all daungers and perilles, that celeritie in de-
 uisynge and perfourmyng hys enterprises, hys promise
 keepynge towardes the yolden, his clemency towardes
 prisoners, and that temperaunce in lawfull and accusto-
 mable pleasures, were all defaced through the intol-
 lerable desyre & delite he had in drynking. For notwith-
 standing that his enemye which contended with hym for
 the mynne dyd chiefly then prepare for the warres, and
 was gathering of hys poure together: and although
 þe people newly conquered, had not yet receyued quyet
 subiection: yet he gaue hymself continually to feastyng
 and

and banqueting, where women were euer present, not
 such to whom men had respect of honestie, but harlots,
 which had there more libertie, then was becoming in
 company of men of warre. Amonges them there was
 one Thais, who vpo a day in her drunkennes, affirmed
 to Alexander that he should wonderfully winne the fa-
 uour of the Greekes, if he would commaunde the pa-
 laice of Persepolis to be set on fyre. The destruction
 wherof (she sayed) they greatly desyred, for so muche as
 the same was the chiefe seate of the kynges of Perse,
 which in tymes past had destroyed so manye great ci-
 ties. When the drunken harlot had geuen her sentence,
 there were other present who being likewise drunken,
 confirmed her wordes. Alexander then that had in hym
 more inclination of heate then of pacience, saied: Why
 do we not then reuege Greece, and set this cite on fyre?
 They were all chafed with drinking, & rose immediatly
 vpon those wordes to burne that cite in their drunken-
 nes, whiche the men of warre had spared in their furye.
 The king himself fyrst, & after his geastes, his seruants
 and his concubynes set fyre in the palaice, which beyng
 builded for most part of Cedar trees, became sodayn-
 ly in a flame. When the armye that was encamped neare
 vnto the cite saw the fyre, which they thought had bene
 kindled by some casualtie, came running to quench the
 same again. But when they saw the king there present
 nourishyng of the fyre, they powred downe the water
 whiche they brought, and helped lyke wyse the matter
 forwardes. Thus the palaice that was the head of
 the whole Orient, from whence so manye nations be-
 fore had fetched their lawes to liue vnder, the seate of
 so many kinges, & onely terrour sometime of Greece, the
 same

Thais.

The destruc-
tion of Perse-
polis.

same that hath bene the sender fourth of the Nauies of
ix. thousande shippes, & of the armies that ouerflowed
all Europe, that made brydges ouer the Sea, and vn-
dermynd mountaynes where the Sea hath nowe his
course: was consumed and had hys ende, and neuer rose
agayne in all the age that dyd ensue. For the kynges of
Macedon vled other citie, which be now in the Per-
sians handes. The destruction of thys citie was such,
that the foundation therof at thys daye coulde not be
found, but that the riuer of Araxes doth shewe where it
stode, which was distant from Persepolis. xx. furlon-
ges, as the inhabitautes rather do beleue then knowe.
The Macedons were aymed that so noble a Citie
was destroyed by their kyng in his drunkennes: yet at
length it was turned into an earnest matter, and were
content to thinke it expedient that the citie should haue
benie destroyed after that maner. But it is certayne,
that when Alexander had taken hys rest, and was
become better aduysed, he repented hym of hys doynge
and sayed: That the Persians should haue doone the
Greekes more harme, if it had bene his chaunce to haue
raigned in Feres stede. The next day he gaue. xxx. ta-
lentes for a rewarde to him that was hys guyde into
Perse, and from thence he tooke hys iourney into Me-
dia, where a new supplie of souldiours (of whom Plato
of Athens had the conduction) came to hym out of Ci-
kia, being. v. c. foote men & a thousand horsemen. When
he had by this meanes encreased his poure, he deter-
mined to pursue Darius, who was come to Ecathana
the head citie of Media, & was purposed from thence
to haue passed into Bactria. But fearing to be preuen-
ted by the speede his enemies made, altered his purpose
and

Media,

Ecathana

and his iourney. Alexander was not come neare him by
 a. M. v. c. furlôges, but he could not thinke any distaunce
 sufficient to defend him agaynst his celeritie, & therfore
 prepared himself rather to fight thē to flee. He had with
 him. xxx. M. footemen, enmonges whom there were. iiii.
 M. Greekes, whose fidelitie neuer failed in all hys ad-
 uerse fortune. He had also. iiii. M. archers & Slingers
 besides. iiii. M. iii. c. Bactrian horsemen, which were vn-
 der Sellus charge, being gouernour both of the citie of
 Bactria, and the countrey. Darius with hys band with-
 drew a litle from the high way, and commaundynge the
 berlets with suche as had charge of the cariage to passe
 on befoze, called a counsaile and spake these woordes
 vnto them. If fortune had matched me with cowardes, Darius woordes.
 and with suche as esteemed anye kynde of lyfe befoze
 an honest deathe, I woulde rather haue holden my
 peace, then consumed my woordes in bayne. But I
 haue had greater experience then I woulde wish, both
 of your valiaunt courage and fidelitie towarde me.
 So that I for my part ought rather labour to seeme
 woorthie to haue such frendes as you are, then to doubt
 whether ye yet remaine the same men towarde me
 that ye were befoze. For of so manye thousandes that
 were vnder mine Empire, you onely haue folowed and
 sticke by me, when I was twyse ouerthrowen in the
 field, & twyse enforced to flye awaye. Your fidelitie and
 your cōstancy maketh me thinke that I remaine still a
 king. Traitors & fugitiues reigne in my cities, not for
 that they be thought woorthie of suche honour, but that
 you might be prouoked by their rewardes to reuolte a-
 gainst me. Notwithstanding, you haue chosen rather to
 folowe me in my misfortune, then be partakers of the
 victors felicitie. You are woorthie, whom the Goddes
 shal

shall rewarde, if I may not, as vndoubtedly they will: There can no posteritie be so silent, noz no fame so vngatefull, whiche shall not with due commendations extoll you to the starres. Though I was determined styll to haue fled, wherunto my heart neuer agreed: yet now I haue conceived suche a trust of your vertue and maithod, that I purpose to passe against mine enemies. Howe long shall I be as a banished man within myne owne dominion, and flye fro a straunge and a foreyne prynce within the boundes of myne owne kingdome? When I may halsarding of the battayl, either recouer that I haue lost, or els dye an honest death? Except peraduenture it seemeth better to some men, that I should submit my self to my enemies will, and by the ensauple of Hazens & Mithrenes, receiue by petition the dominion of some one nation: wherin I iudge that Alexander had rather folow the inclination of his glory then of his wrath. No, let the gods neuer graunt that it may lye in any mans poure, eyther to take awaye, or geue vnto me this Dyademe vpo my head, noz that I lose this Empryre so long as I haue breath: for in this I am determined that my lyfe and my kingdome shall ende both together. If this mynde remaine like wyle in you, & if this lawe be graffed in your heartes: there is none of you that can want libertie, there is none that shall be copelled to endure the vnkelynes of your enemies, neither their proud port, noz their stately looks. Euery mans right hand shall the geue vnto him self either a reuenge, or an end of all these euils. Nothing can stand long in one stay. I my self am ensauple of the alteration of fortune: and therefore it is not without cause that I looke for a better chaunge. And if the worst fall, the goddess will needes be against vs in our warres that be
law

lawful and honest, yet it cannot be taken from vs, but that we may alwaie manfully and honestly dye. I require and make intercession to you by the honour of our predecessours, that wyth such fame and glozy possessed þ kingdomes of the whole Orient, by those mē to whome Macedon sometyme was tributarie, by so many nauies of shippes sent into Greece, & by so many victories wonne, that ye wyll take such courage and harte vnto you, as may seme woorthy your nobilitie and your nation. So that wyth the same constancie of mynde wherewyth ye haue endured thynges paste, ye will proue and attempt whatsoeuer fortune sende to you hereafter. I am resolued for my parte to get my selfe perpetual fame either by the victorie, or by the notable aduenture, I wil giue for the winninge therof. When Darius had spoken these woordes, the representacion of the present perill so amased them all, that they were not able either to shewe theyr aduise, or to speake a worde to that matter, tyll such tyme as Artabazus the most auncient of hys frendes (which befoze tyme had bene wyth kynge Philip) began to say his fantasie: We are come into the field (quod he) with you that is our king, in our most precious appaile, and richest armour, with the entent to winne þ victorie: and if necessitie require, not to refuse death. To whose woordes al þ rest with their voice lea-
 ned to agree sayynge Nabarzanes, who being present in that counsell wyth Bessus, and of hys opinion, conspired a treason so wonderful, that the like hath seldome bene hard of befoze. Their determinacion was by force of þ souldiers they had vnder theyr charge, to put theyr king in hold, wyth thys purpose, that if Alexander pursued them, to deliuer hym then aliue into hys handes, to winne therby his fauour, as a thig which they thought

Artabazus.

he woulde esteeme greatly. But if they could escape con-
 ueniently, then they were in mynde to kyl Darius and
 diuidinge the kyngdome betwixte them, renue agayne
 the warre agaynst the Macedons. They hauing ima-
 gined thys treason lgg before in theyr mindes, Nabat-
 zanes thought this an occasion to make a preparatiue
 to hys wycked intent, by a persuation whiche he there
 vttered. I knowe (qd he) that I shall speake the thyng
 which in the first appearaunce shall not be gratefull vn-
 to your eares: but phisicions vse to cure diseases that
 be great, wyth sharpe & bitter medicines. And the ship-
 maisters whē they feare a shipwracke, accustome to re-
 demie such thinges as may be saued, with the destructy-
 on and losse of the rest. Yet thys matter & I meane is
 no persuation to losse, but a deuice by what meanes ye
 may pzeferue your selfe and your kyngdome. We
 make a warre wherein the goddes seame manifestly to
 be agaynst vs, & fortune cesseth not obstynately to pur-
 sue vs. It is nedefull therfore that we lay new founda-
 cions, & seeke out men whiche haue other fortune. My
 opinion is therfore, that you deliuer vp your kyngdome
 vnto some mans handes, which shall haue the name of
 king, so longe as your enemies remaine within Asia.
 And when they be once departed (which my mynde ge-
 ueth me to be shortly) he shall restore the same vnto you
 agayne. The countrey of Bactria is yet vntouched, the
 Indians & Sacans be at your appointment, so many
 people, so many armies, so many thousandes of horsemen
 and fote men haue their force in redynes to renue thys
 warre agayne. So & a muche greater force remaineth
 then & which is consumed. Why do we then like bestes
 wylfully runne to a destruction that is not necessarye?
 It is the propertie of suche as be men of courage, ra-
 ther

ther to despise death then hate the life, and oftentimes by
 wcrines of trauayle, cowardes are driuen to take little
 reguarde of them selues. But vertue leaueth nothyng
 byproued. And death beyng the ende of all thyng, it
 is sufficient if we go not to it like sluggardes. There-
 fore if we shall go vnto Bactria whiche is now our
 nexte refuge: let vs for the tymes sake make Bessus
 kyng, who is alreadye ruler of that countrey, and
 when the matters be once broughte to some stape, he
 shall restore to you the empire agayne, as to the ryghte-
 ous king. Althoughe Darius perceiued not the great-
 nes of the mischiete that lay hydden vnder hys wicked
 wordes, yet was it no maruayle though he coulde not
 abstayne: for he tourned towardes hym, and sayde: thou
 boyle slaue, hast thou nowe founde out a tyme meete to
 disclose the treason that lyeth in thy harte: and there-
 withall pulled out hys sworde to haue slayne hym, if
 Bessus and the other Bactrians aboute hym had not
 lettred hys purpose. They pretended to be sorre for
 the matter, but minded in very dede to bynde hym, if he
 had continued in hys purpose. In the meane season
 Nabarzanes escaped awaye, & Bessus folowed after,
 who immediatly dyd separte the bandes they had
 charge of, from the rest of the armie, because they woulde
 be them aparte to theyr purpose. When they were
 departed, Artabazus framed hys talke accordyng to
 the estate of the tyme then presente, and began to
 pacifie Darius wyth wordes, puttynge hym in re-
 membzaunce howe hys case was suche that it beho-
 ued hym to beate quietlye the folishnes or rather the
 errout of hys owne men, for as muche as Alexander
 was at hand ouer soze an enemy for them, though there
 were no discorde nor disobedience. But if we shalbe at

variaunce (q^d he) when he doth pursue vs, our matters
 shall stand in very euyl plight. Therupon Darius en-
 clined somewhat to Artabaf^s aduise, & though he was
 determined to remoue: yet because he perceyued euerye
 man to be troubled in mynde, remayned still in the same
 place. But he hym selfe was so astonyed wyth sorowe
 and desperacyon, that he kept hym selfe close and came
 not fourth of hys paulion: Wherup^o the campe beyng
 wythout gouernment, the heades not consultinge toge-
 ther as they did befoze, there rose emonges them great
 diuersitie of opinions, and motions of mynde. Whych
 thynge when Patron sawe, that was capitayne of the
 Greeke souldiers, he wylled hys men to put on theyr
 armour, to bee in a redynes to do as they shoulde be ap-
 pointed. The Persians encamped by them selucs, and
 Bessus remained emonges the Bactrians, practisinge
 to cary away the Persians into Bactria, and to leaue
 Darius: signifieng to them the ryches of that region
 yet vntouched, and the perill they were in, if they re-
 mayned still. But they were all in maner of one opini-
 on, that it was ouer greate an offence for them to for-
 sake theyr prince. In the meane season Artabafus ex-
 ecuted the kynges office, and went emonges the Per-
 sians in theyr lodgynges, admonishyng and exhortinge
 them, sometyme aparte, and otherwhyle altogethers,
 and woulde neuer leaue theym, befoze it appeared that
 they woulde do as the kyng would haue theym.
 That done wyth greate payne and diffycultye he per-
 suaded Darius to take hys meate, and to set hys mynd
 vpon his busines. But Bessus and Nabarzanes were
 so greedy to get the gouernment into theyr handes, that
 they resolved to put in execucion the thynge they had
 longe conspired betwixte theym. For so longe as Da-

rius

rius was in salegard, they could not hope to compasse
 nor attaine so great power and auctorite: the maiestie
 of a kynge is had in so great veneracyon amonges
 those nations: at whose onely name they assemble toge-
 ther, and the reuerence bled to them in their prosperitie,
 cause men to shewe them the lyke obedience in aduct-
 sitye. The greatnes and power of the countreys wher-
 of Belus and Nabarzanes had the rule, not beyng
 inferior to any other nacyons in that part of the world,
 either in men, in furniture, or largenes of theyr terry-
 tory, gaue a greate ecourage vnto theyr wicked dispo-
 sitions in attemptinge of thys matter. For they posses-
 syng the thyrde part of Asia, were able to make as great
 numbze of men, as Darius before had loste. In confide-
 nce wherof they not onely despised Darius, but Alex-
 ander hym selfe, purposyng when they were once be-
 come lordes of that countrey, to reenforce from thence
 againe the poure of thempire, and maintaine þ warres
 against the Macedons. When they had long deuised, &
 debated these thinges, they determined to take Dari-
 us by þ Bactria souldiers, of whom they had the rule,
 & then to send word to Alexander that they reserued hym
 on lyue, to deliuer hym vnto hrs handes. And if so bee
 that Alexander should not accept theyr doing, (whyche
 in dede they doubted) the their purpose was to kil Da-
 rius, & wyth their power to flie into Bactria. But for-
 somuch as they sawe that Darius could not be taken
 openly, seinge there were so many thousandes ready to
 aide hym: and fearyng also the fidelitie of the Grekes,
 determined to worke by sleight, the thyng that they
 coulde not byng to passe by force. Theyr deuyle was
 to counterfeyt a repentaunce of theyr former doynges,
 in excusyng vnto the kynge the feare they were in. And

In the meane season they sent certayne to practise with the Persians, and to proue theyr mynides. The souldiers were tossed to and fro wyth hope and feare. Some tyme they thought that by leuyngc of theyr kyngc, they should commyt them selues to manylest ruyn and destruction: and agayne they remembred what enter- tainment was promised them in Bactria that lay open for them, where they should be receyued wyth such giftes & ryches as they could not well imagin. Whyles Bessus and Nabarzanes were beating of these thinges in their heades, Artabazus came vnto them, declaring how Darius was well pacified, and that they myght if they woulde, be in the same estate and degree wyth hym that they were in before. Therupon they fell to weapinge and purgynge of them selues, requirynge Artabazus that he woulde take vpon hym the defence of theyr cause, and carpe theyr request and submissyon vnto the kyng. The night was consumed in thys kynd of busines. When it was daye Nabarzanes wyth the Bactrian souldiers stoode at the entrey of the kynges lodging, colouring hys priuy treason wyth a solempne pretence of doing his dutye. Darius caused warnynge to be giuen for his remoue, and so mounted vpon hys chariot after his accustomed maner. Nabarzanes and the other traytours fell vpon the ground to wooshypppe hym, and shed teares in token of repentaunce, notwithstanding that they determined shortly after to put hym in fetters: mens nature is so apte to dyssemblacon. Darius beinge of a simple & gentle nature, was enforced through their behauour not onely to beleue & theyr pretended, but also caused hym to weape for ioye: yet that could not cause & traitours to alter thier purpose, whē they perceyued what kynd of man, and what maner of prince

prince they went aboute to deceiue. Darius doubtyng
nothing of hys peril that was next at hande, made all
the haste he coude to escape Alexander, whom he onely
doubted. Patron that was capitayne of the Grecians
commaunded hys souldyers to put on theyr harneys,
whiche they caried befoze in trusses, and to be readye
and attende to euery thyng that shoulde be appointed
them. For he vnderstanding the treason that Bessus
went about, folowed the kinges chariot seking occasyō
to speake wyth hym. And Bessus doubtyng the same
thyng, woulde not depart from the chariot, but folowed
rather as a watche, then a wayter. Patron therefore
haunge tarped longe, and interrupted oftentymes as
he was about to speake, stode in a staye betwixte feare
and fidelitie, beholdyng the kyng in the face. When
Darius perceiued that he behelde hym after that man-
ner, he wylled Subace his Eunuche that rode next hym
to enquire of Patron if he had anye thyng to saye to
hym. Patron sayed ye: but hys matter was suche as
he woulde no man shoulde heare. Then he was wyl-
led to come neare, and wythout any interpretour (Da-
rius vnderstādyng somwhat of y Grecke tongue) Pa-
tron sayd vnto hym: Syr of fyfte thousande Greckes
that serued you, there is a smale numbze of vs remay-
nyng, whyche haue continually folowed you in all
fortunes, bearyng vnto you the same fidelitie & affec-
tion, that we dyd in your most flozyng estate. And
are determined wher soeuer you be, to take that for our
countrey and home: bothe prosperitie and aduersitie
hath so coupled vs together. By whyche inuincible fy-
delitie that is in vs, I desire and require you, that you
would vouchsafe to lodge within oure campe, and suf-
fer vs to be the garde of your person. We haue lost

Subace.

Patrons
wordes to
Darius.

A.iii.

Grece

Greece, we haue no Bactria to go vnto, all our hope is
 in you, & God graunte that all other me had the like. It
 is not necessary I should speake any moze, noz would
 not demaunde the custody of your person beyng an a-
 lien and a straunger, if I knewe that others were well
 mynded towarde you. Although he Vellus was igno-
 raunt of the Greeke tounge, yet hys consience pricked
 hym to beleue that Dattro had disclosed some such mat-
 ter, & therfore carieng away some part of his woordes,
 by a greeke interpretour, became out of doubt. Darius
 nothing afraied as it appeared by hys countenance, en-
 quired of Dattro, what moued him to geue him suche ad-
 uise. Whereupon he thought not good to differre it anye
 lenger, but said: Vellus & Nabarzanes worke treaso-
 agaynst you, so that your life and your estate stand in ex-
 tremie perill, and thys daye shalbe the last either to the
 traitours, or to you: whose woordes if Darius had wel
 wayed & regarded, Dattro had receiued great glory of
 the preservation of his prince. But let them mocke that
 lyst, whych be peruated that the state of man is go-
 uerned at aduenture and by chaunce: but I beleue that
 euery man runneth hys race by an immutable orde, &
 an euerlastyng appointment, by a knitting to geither of
 causes vnknoen appointed longe befoze. Darius an-
 swere was: that although the fydelyte of the Greeke
 souldiers was sufficiently knowen vnto him, yet he was
 determyned neuer to depart from hys own nacion, by
 whom though he might be disceyued, yet it was harde
 for hym to mistrust the: whatsoeuer shoulde chaunce to
 hym he sayd, he was minded rather to suffer it enogges
 hys owne subiectes, then to parte awaye from them,
 not desirynge to lyue, if hys owne souldiers desired not
 hys sauegarde. Whereupon Dattro despayryng of the
 kynges

Darius an-
 swere vnto
 Dattro.

kinges wel doing, returned the, of whō he had p charge
ready to aduēture any thing for his sake. Bessus in the
meane season had bitterly determined to slea Darius,
but fearing that he could not winne Alexanders fauour
except he deliuered his enemy into his hādes aliuē, dis-
ferred hys purpose to the nyght folowing. In p meane
season he came to Darius, and gaue him thanks that
he had so warily and with such wisdomē auoyded the
treason of that false Grecian, who being corrupted by
Alexander, sought nothyng but howe to make a present
of hys head: wherat (he said) he could not marueyle that
a mercenary mā should leaue any thing vndone for mo-
ney, being without any pledge of his honestye, without
house & home, banished out of the worlde, a faint friend,
and a doubtful enemye, tossed here & there at the backe
of al men, that wil corrupt him. And then he fell to pur-
ging of him self, calling the Goddess of his countrey to
witnes of his innocency in the matter. Darius by hys
cōtēnāūce seemed to beleue him: yet he doubted not of
the trueth of p tale p Patron had tolde him: but he was
come to suche a poynt, that it was as daungerous for
hym not to beleue his owne men, as to be deceyued.
There were .xxx. thousand, whose lightnes was feared
to haue consented to this conspiracye: and Patron had
but foure thousand, to whom if he had comytted hys
saūeguarde, and thereby condemned the fidelitie of hys
owne nation, he saw p then they might haue had therof
a goodly colour and a pretēce to perfourme the thyng
they went about, and therfore chose rather to be kylled
innocentlye, then to geue anye occasion wherby he
shoulde seme to haue deserued death. And yet when
Bessus purged hymselfe, he answered: that he knewe
there was no lesse iustice in Alexander then manhode,
and

and that they were deceiued that looked for any rewarde
of treason at his handes, knowyng that there was no
sozer punysher nor reuenger of the breache of fidelitie.
When the night drew neare, the Persians after theyr
accustomed maner put of theyr armour, and repayed
to the next byllages to prouyde thinges necessarye.
But the Bactrians (as Vellus had comaunded them)
stoode styll armed. In the meane season Darius had
sent for Artabalus, and shewed him what Patron had
declared. Whereupon Artabalus made no doubte, but
that he shoulde streyght wayes comyt hymselfe,
mong the Greeces, thi. kyng that the Persians when
the kinges pryll shoulde be published abroade, would
ioyne with the Grecians. Yet Darius predestinate to
his chaunce, could not beare then any hole some coun-
sell, nor sought for any helpe in that case, but embraced
Artabazus, as though he shoulde neuer see hym more,
and being wet with the teares that one of them let fall
vpon an other, caused Artabazus to be remoued from
hym, and because he woulde not see hys sorowe in de-
parting from hym, he couered hys face, and fell flatte
vpon the grounde. Then suche as were accustomed to
the garde o. his person, whiche shoulde haue bene his
defence in all perils, fledde away, thinking them selues
ouer weake for suche a numbre of armed men, as they
supposed to be comming. Then there was great soli-
tarynes withyn hys lodgyng: for none remayned a-
bout the kyng, but a fewe Eunuches, that had no place
to repaire vnto. The he debated and decypled with him-
selfe alone, sometyme one thyng, and sometyme ano-
ther: and by and by he waxed wery of that solitarines
which before he tooke for a comfyt, and called Bubace
vnto him, whom he behelde and saied: Go prouyde for
your

your selues, which according to your dueties haue bene true to your prince tyll the last houre. Here I doe tary for the fatall lawe of my destiny. Peraduenture ye doe maruaile that I do not ende myne owne lyfe. I had rather dye through other mens wickednes, then by myne owne. After those wordes, Bubace fylled both the kinges lodging, and also the whole campe with mourning and lamentation, and diuers brake into the place where Darius was, and tearing their clothes, bewailed hys case with a great lamentation. When the crye came vnto the Persians, they were so amaled for feare, that they durst neyther put on theyr armour, lest they myght geue occasion to the Bactrians to set vpon them, nor they could not remayne quyet, lest they might seeme so wickedlye to leaue theyr kyng. There were clamours throughout the campe of dyuers sortes and tunes, without anye head, and without anye appoyntment. Suche as pertayned to Nabarzanes and Bessus, Deceyued by suche lamentation as they hearde, broughte tydynges to the rest, that the kyng had kylled hym selfe. Wherupon they repayred thither so fast as they coude gallop, and suche folowed after, as they had chosen to be ministers of theyr mischief. When they were entered into the kinges pavilion, because the Eunuques declared that he was on liue, they commaunded him to be bounde. Thus he which befoze was caried in a chariot, & honoured of hys me lyke a God, was made prisoner by his owne seruauntes without anye foreyne power, and put into a byle cart couered ouer with beastes skynnes: and spoyle was made of the kinges stuffe, in suche sort, as if it had bene taken in the warres. And when they had laden them selues with the pray gotten after so foule a maner, they conueyed them selues into theyr

Darius take
prisoner by
Bessus and
Nabarzanes.

theyr countreyes. But Artabazus with those of whom he had the charge, and with the Greeke souldiers, tooke the way towarde Parthina, thinkyng to be moze sure any where, then in the fellowship of those traitours. The Persians whom Bessus had burdened with so manye faire promises, specially because they had no other man to folowe, ioynded themselves to the Bactrians, and the thyrde daye ouertooke them. But to the entent Darius should not waite such honoz as was due vnto his estate, Bessus caused hym to be bounde with golden fetters: suche were the deuytyes that his fortune made hym subiect vnto. And for that he should not be knowen by his apparayle, they couered the cart with foule hydes of beastes, & caused vnknown men to driue it forwarde. And lest by inquiry in the army he myght be dyscouered, suche as had the charge of hym folowed a farre off. When Alexander heard that Darius was remoued to Echatane, he left the way that he was in, and with all the speede he could make, folowed after Darius & was said to be gone into Media. But when Alexander was come to Taba, whiche is the chiefe citie of Paratacen, it was there shewed him by fugitiues that came out of Darius campe, how he was fled with all speede into Bactria. And afterwarde vnderstoode & matter moze certainly by Bagistenes of Babilon, who coulde not asfyrme directly & Darius was vled as a prisoner, but declared that either he was in daunger of death or of captiuitie. Alexander vpon those newes called his Captaynes together, and shewed them that he had a great enterpryse, but such one as the trauayle was very short. Darius (he saied) was not farre off, forsaken of his owne men, and either taken as a prisoner, or els slaine. In whose person he shewed their whole victoize to consist,

Taba.
Paratacen.

consist, and the greatnes of the matter to be a rewarde
 sufficient of their hast making. They all cryed with one
 voice & they were ready to folow hym where he would
 go, & that he should neither spare their labour nor their
 perill. Wherupō he conueyed his army forwarde with
 merueilous speede, rather in post, then after the cōmon
 order of marching, neither resting daie nor nyght tyll
 they had passed .v.c. furlonges, and come to the village
 where Darius was taken. There Helun Darius in-
 terpretour, who by reason of his sickenes could not fo-
 low the army, was taken through Alexander's celeritie,
 who feining that he fled away from his maister, decla-
 red the whole matter: but how great so euer his desyre
 was to ouertake his enemies, it was necessary for hym
 to geue his men rest of their trauaile. So that determi-
 ning to leaue the rest of his army behind, did choose out
 sixe thousand horsemen, and added to them .iii.c. called
 Dimichas, that were footemen, heavy harnised, but yet
 ryding on horsebacke, and when the matter & place re-
 quired, lyghted and fought on foote. When Alexander
 was taking order about these thinges: Orsellus and
 Nithracenes, which for the hatred they bare to Bessus
 for his treason, fled from him, declaring to the king that
 the Persians were but .v.c. furlonges of, and profered
 to guyde hym by a neater waye. Their comming was
 gratefull to the kyng: for by their conduction in the
 begynning of the night, he tooke his iourney with such
 horsemen as he had appoynted, willyng his foote bat-
 tayl to folow after with all speede possible. He marched
 forwarde in a square battail, and kept such an order,
 that the fyrst myght ioyne with the last, and suche as
 came behind, relieved them that wēt before. When they
 had passed .ccc. furlonges on their waye, Bzoculus the

Helun.

Bzoculus

sonne

sonne of Mazeus that somtyme had bene gouer-
 nouer of Siria met Alexander, and declared that Bes-
 sus was within two hundred furlonges, marchyng
 with his men out of all ordre, as one that dyd cast no
 doubtes. It seemed to hym (he said) that they went to-
 wardes Hircania: wherfore if hast were made, they
 might sone be ouertake, & found disperced here & there
 out of all aray. And by reaso he affirmed also that Da-
 rius was yet alyue: Alexander þ was hoat befoze in his
 pursuite, was with his wordes much moze pricked for-
 wardes, so þ he caused the to put spurres to their hozes,
 and passed forwardes a gallop, goyng so farre fourth,
 that they might heare the noise of thei2 enemies as they
 marched. But the dust that dyd rylse, dynned thei2
 sight: and therfore he stayed a while till the dust was
 banished awaye. Then bothe Bessus perceyued the
 Macedons, and they sawe the Persians as they fled.
 Not wythstandyng they had not bene hable to haue
 matched with the, if Bessus had had as great courage
 to fight, as he had to betraye his maister. For besydes
 that they exceded the Macedons in nombre & poure,
 they forweried and soze trauailed, should haue had to
 do with them that were lusty and freshe. But the name
 of Alexander and his fame, whiche is of great moment
 euer in the warres, put them in suche feare, that they
 could not stay themselves. Then Bessus and other that
 were partners of the conspiracy, came to the cart where
 Darius was, & perswaded him to leape on hozsebacke,
 and flye from his enemies that were at hande. But he
 cryeng out that the Goddes were come to his reuenge,
 and calling for the assistance of Alexander, said: that in
 no wyse he woulde go with traitours: wherwith they
 were so sturred to wraath, that they threw dattes at him
 and

and left him wounded in many places of his body. They thrust in the beastes also that drew the cart, to thintent they should not be hable to passe forwarde, & slew his two seruantes that did waite vpon him. When they had committed this act, they thought it expedient to dysperse them selues in theyr flyeng. And so Nabarzanes tooke the waye to Hircania, and Bessus to Bactria, wyth a few horsmen that eche of them had in their company. When theyr souldiours were forsaken of theyr Capitaines: they scattered here and there, where hoape and feare dyd leade them. There were onely .v. hundred horsmen which asssembled them selues together, & stood in a mammozing whether it were better to resyst or to flye. Alexander vnderstandyng the feare his enemies were in, sent Hyrcanoz before wyth part of his horsmen to keepe them occupied, and he wyth the rest folowed after. There were slayne to the number of .iii. M. of suche as stood at theyr defence, and the rest were driuen in flockes lyke beastes: from kyllyng of whom Alexander commaunded his men to abstayne. Emonges al the prisoners, there was none y^e was hable to shewe the cart that caried Darius: for euery one was so desyrous to fynde hym, that as they sawe anye cart, they sought hym therein: and yet they coude perceyue by no meanes where he was become. Alexander made such hast, that scarcely .iii. M. horsmen folowed him of al hys numbze: but the great numbze of the Persians fel into their lappes that folowed behinde. It is scarcely credible to be beleued, that there shoulde be moze prisoners taken, then there were men to take them. But fortune in that feare had so taken awaye theyr sense, that they coude not consider their owne multitude, nor the small number of
their

Darius was
died to death.

Polystratus.

The message
that Darius
sent to Alex-
ander before
his death.

their enemyes. In the meane season the beastes that drew Darius wagon, hauyng no man to gouerne the, were swarued out of the hygh waye, and wanderyng here & there, had drawen Darius foure furlonges from y place he was wounded, into a balley where they fainted, by reason of their heate and their hurtles. There was a spring at hand, whiche certayne that knewe the countrey had shewed to Polystratus a Macedon, that was ouercome for the first. And whyles he was drynkyng water out of his helmet, he spyed the beastes that were thrust in with darts, and marueilyng that they were not rather caried awaye, then hurt after that maner. He looked and found in the foule cart the body of a man halfe a liue, and at length perceiued it was Darius that lay there sore wounded, & drawing of his breath. Then Polystratus brought to hym a Persian whom he had taken prisoner. Whom when Darius knewe by his voyce, to be of his countrey, said: that he tooke it for a comfort of his present fortune, that he should speake before he dyed to one that vnderstoode him, and not utter his last wordes in vaine. He required him to declare vnto Alexander, that though he had neuer deserued eny thing at his handes, yet it was his chaunce to dye greatly his debitour, and had great thanks to geue him, for the fauour and goodnes that he had shewed towards his mother, his wife, and his children, to whom he had not onely graunted lyfe, but also the reuerence of their former estate and dignitie, whereas he of his kinsmen and frendes, to whom he had geuen both lyfe and landes, was now by the bereued of all. He praised therfore that he might alwaies be victour, and that the empyre of the whole worlde myght come into his handes, requir-
ing

ring that he woulde not neglect to take reuēgeaunce of
 so foule an act, not only for hys cause: but for ensample
 and the loue of other princes: whych should be a thyng
 honourable vnto hym and profitable in tyme cōpyng.
 When he had spoken these wordes, he fainted, & calling
 for water, after he had dronke, sayd to Polistratus that
 presented it vnto hym: Whatsoeuer thou arte, thys is
 vnto me the last misery in all my aduersē chaunce, that
 I am not able to requite the thys benefite. But Alexan-
 der shall rewarde the, & the goddes shal requite him for
 his great humanitie and clemencye shēwed towarde
 mine. Vnto whom in my behalfe thou shalt geue my
 hande as pledge of a kynges promise. And hauing spo-
 ken these wordes, and geuen Polistratus his hande, he
 died. When hys saynges were reported to Alexander,
 he repaired where the dead corpes lay, and there betway-
 led with teares, that it was hys chaunce to dye a death
 so vnworthy for so great an estate, and takinge of hys
 owne cloke to couer the dead corpes withall, adorne the
 same with all thynges that pertained to a kyng, & sente
 it to his mother Sili-gambis to be buried, in such
 sort as the cōtrey maner was to bury kynges,
 and to be layed emōges the rest of hys
 predecellours.

(..)

¶ Were the first parte of the fyrte booke both want, wherein was con-
 teyned the cause of the warre betwixt the Lacedemonians and
 Macedons: with the preparacion of both nations to the
 battaile that was fought betwixt Antipater Alex-
 anders lieutenant in Macedonia, and Antigō
 king of the Lacedemonians.

(:r:)

D. i.

The sixte boke of

Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.

The battaile
betwixt Agis
king of Lace-
demon & An-
tipater lieu-
tenant in Ma-
cedonia,



He pressed forwardes where þe fight was most
daungerous, and sieynge suche as made most
resistance, put the greater part of his enemies
to flyght. The such as were victorours before
began to fye, tyll they had drawen theyr enemies gre-
dely folowynge the, out of þe streight into a moze playne
ground. In the retire manye of them were slayne: but
when they had once recovered such a ground where as
they might stay and fall in ordre, the battailes ioyned e-
qually agayne on both sides. Amonges then all þe kyng
of the Lacedemonians appeared most notable in all
mens eyes, not so muche by the bewtye of hys armour
and goodly personage, as through the greatnes of hys
courage, wherein onely he coude not be ouercome. He
was layed to on al partes, both neare hand, and a farr
of. Yet for all that, he endured longe in armes agaynst
hys enemies, auoyding their strokes part wyth his ter-
get, and part with hys bodye, tyll suche tyme as he was
thrust through both thighes with a speare, whē by great
effusion of bloude he was not able any longer to endure
the fyghte: Then the esquires for hys bodye take hym
vp vpon hys terget, and caried hym into theyr campe,
that with greate payne endured the sturryinge of hys
woundes. The Lacedemonians for all theyr kynges
departure gaue not ouer the fyght, but assone as they
could recouer any grounde of aduauntage, they closed
them selues in battaile together, and receyued stodylye
their

their enemies that came full vpon them. There is not
founde in any memory, of a battaile more vehementlye
fought then that, where the armies of two nations that
were most excellent in the warres contended together
for the victorie, not yet enclining to eny part. The La-
cedemonians called to mynde their auncient manhode
and prowes, and the macedons considered their pre-
sent estimation they had in the worlde. the Lacedemo-
nians strived for their libertie, and the Macedons for
the souereintie. The one partie lacked a capitaine, and
the other roware to fighte in. The manifolde aduen-
tures and chaunces that fel that daye, encreased both
the hope and feare of bothe parties: fortune as yt were
of purpose byngyng such valiaunt men to fighte toge-
thers, neyther of them preuaylyng vpon other. But the
streightnes of the place wherbyn they foughte, dyd not
suffre them to ioyne with theyr whole force at once: for
more were beholders then fighters, and suche as stode
without daunger, encouraged the other with their crie.
At length the Lacedemonians begon to faynt, & scarfly
able for sweatyng to susteyne theyr armour beganne to
drawe backe, to haue the more lybertye to flee from their
enemies that pleased sore vpon theym. When they
were once broken and scattered abroad, the victorours
pursued after. And passyng the place wherupon the
Lacedemonians battayl was fyrst aranged, made a
sore pursuyt vpon Agis: who seying hys men flyenge,
and hys enemies appoche at hand, wylled hys men to
sette hym downe: where stretchyng out hym selfe, to
fele yf the force of hys body coude aunswere vnto hys
harte, When he founde hym selfe vnable to stande, re-
maynyng vpon hys knees, put on hys helmet, and
coueryng hys body wyth hys terget, shaked hys speare

Agis was
slayne.

and prouoked his enemies to drawe neare, if any were
desirous of hys spoyle: but there was not one that pres-
sed neare him, but did cast dartes a farre off, which he al-
wayes toke and threwe at his enemies againe, till such
time as he was thrust into the bare brest with a speare.
But when the same was pulled out of the wounde, he
fainted, & bowinge him self vpon his terget, shortly after
fell downe dead, bloud and life fallinge both together.
There were slaine of the Lacedemonians. v. M. iiii. C.
lx. and of the Macedons not passing. iiii. c. But there
was scarcely any of them y^e escaped vnwounded. Thys
victory brake the hartes not onely of the Lacedemoni-
ans and of theyr confederates, but also all other whiche
lay in wayte looking for the successe of that warre. Anti-
pater was not ignorant howe the countenaunces of
such as dyd gratiye hys victory, differed muche from
the enterres of their hartes: but desirous to finish the
warre that was begon, perceyued it necessary for hym
to dissemble and suffer him selfe to be deceyued. And
though he reioyced muche in the fortune of the thynge,
yet he feared therruile that might ensue therof, beinge
a greater matter then the estate of a lieutenaunt dyd
beare. For Alexander was of such a nature, that he de-
sired his enemies had wonne the victory, shewyng ma-
nifestly that he was not contented wyth Antipaters
good successe: thinkinge that what honour soeuer chaū-
fed to any other man was a derogacion to hys owne
glory. Antipater therefore which knew full wel his sto-
make, durst not blye the victory accordyng to his owne
wyl, but assembled a councel of Greckes, to aduise what
they thoughte expedient. The Lacedemonians made
no other request, but y^e they myght send Embassadors
vnto Alexander, which vpon theyr repaire to hym and
their

their sute made, obtained a generall pardon for al men,
 sauinge for such as were the aucthours of the rebellyon.
 The Megapolitans, whose citie dyd abyde the siege
 were compelled to pay as a fyne for theyr rebellyon. xx.
 talentes to the Athenians, & the Aetolians. Thys was
 the ende of the warre, whiche beyng sodeinly begon
 was ended before that Alexander had ouerthrowen
 Darius at Arbella. Allone as hys mynde was deliue-
 red of those present cares, as one that coulde beare bet-
 ter the warres then quietnes, he gaue hym selfe all to
 plesures. By the vices wherof ensuinge he was ouer-
 come, whome no poure of þe Persians oz any other was
 able to subdue. He was geue to baquetting out of scald,
 & to a sonde delight of drynkinge & watchinge in plaies
 emonge flockes of Concubines, that drew hym into
 straunge maners & customes. Which he folowynge as
 thinges better then hys countrey vsages, offended there-
 by greatly both the eies and þe hartes of his owne nacy-
 on, and caused manye that loued hym before entircly, to
 hate hym then as an enemye. For the Macedons that
 were obstinate in keaping theyr own discipline, and ac-
 customed not to be curious, but so scarce in theyr diet as
 might suffice nature, when they sawe hym go about to
 bynge in emonges the vices of those naciōs which
 they had subdued: conspiracies then began to be made
 agaynst hym, mutenie rose emongs the souldiers, and
 euery one complaynyng to an other, frely vitered their
 griefes, wherby he was prouoked to wrath, to suspicy-
 on and sodeine feare, diuers other inconueniēces ensu-
 ing therupon, which shalbe declared hereafter. Alexan-
 der being geuen as it hath bene sayed before to vntrea-
 sonable banquetinge, wherein he consumed both daye
 and nyghte: When he was satisfied of eatynge and

Megapolita-
tans.Howe Alex-
ander in prose
peryte fell to
vice.

eating and drinking, passed ouer the tyme with plaies
and pastimes. And not contented with suche musicians
as he brought out of Greece, caused the women that
were captiue, to sing before hym such songes as abhor-
red the eares of the Macedons not accustomed to suche
thinges. Emonges those women Alexander spied one
more sadde then the rest, whiche with a certaine shame-
fastnes did strue wyth them that brought her fourth.
She was excellēt of beuty, & throughe her shamefast-
nes her beutie was augmented. Because she dyd caste
her eyes towardes the earth, couering her face so muche
as she might: gaue suspicion for him to thinke & she was
come of greater nobilitie, then & she ought to be brought
in to such kinde of pastimes. And therfore being deman-
ded what she was: she shewed hir selfe to be the neece
of Occhus that lately reigned in Persie, and the wife of
Histiaspis, which was Darius kinsman, and had ben
his lieutenaunt ouer great armies. There yet remay-
ned in the kynges harte some smal sparkes of hys for-
mer vertue. For in respect of her estate beinge come of
a kynges bloud, and the reuerence he bare to suche a
name, as the neece of Occhus, commaunded her not on-
ly to be set free, but also to be restored to her goodes and
her husband, whome he wylled to be soughte out. The
nexte day he appointed Ephestion to bringe all the pri-
soners into the court, where enquiring of the nobilitie
of euery one, commaunded them which were descended
of noble bloud, to be seuered from the rest, emonges
whome they founde Oratres brother to Darius, that
was no lesse noble of mynde then of bloud. There was
made of the last spoyle. xxi. M. talentes, wherof .xii.
M. were consumed in rewardes emonges the men of
warre: and the summe amounted to no lesse value that
was

Histiaspis.

was conueyed away by them that had the keepynge thereof. There was one Drydates a noble man of Persie that was put in prison by Darius, and appointed to suffer death, whom Alexander deliuered, and gaue vnto hym the seignorie of Media, and receyued Darius brother amonges the number of hys frendes, reseruyng to hym all the accustomed honour of hys nobilitie. Then they came to the countrey of Parthenia then beyng but obscure and vnknown: but nowe the head of all those countreis whiche lie vpon Tigre and Euphrates, and be bounded with the redde sea. Thys countrey beinge fruteful and abundaunte of al thinges was taken by the Scythians, which possessynge parte both of Asia and Europe, be troublous neighbours to them both. The Scythians, whiche inhabite vpon the Bospheron sea are ascribed to be in Asia. And such as be in Europe possesse the countreys lyenge on the leste of Thrace, so far as Bozisthenes: and from thence ryght forth so farre as the tyner of Thanaïs, that parteth Europe and Asia. It is certaine that the Scythies, of whome the Persians be descended, came not from Bospheron, but out of Europe. There was a noble cite in those daies called Hecatomphilos builded by y^e Greekes, where Alexander remainyd wth hys army, conueyng vittailes thether from all partes. Amonges the souldiers lyng there in idelnes, there rose sodaynlye a rumoure, entered into theyr heades without any certayne auctour or beginnyng. The rumor was, how that Alexander satisfied wth the actes he had done, purposed immediatlye to retourne into Macedon. Thys fame was not so sone sowen abroad, but that they ranne lyke madde menne to theyr lodgynges, and trussed vp theyr baggage and their stuffe: makinge

Parthenia

Bospheron

Bozisthenes

Hecatomphilos

A rumoure
that rose vps
on a rumour

such preparaciō to depart, that euery man iudged war-
 ninge had bene geuen to remoue, and that the thyng
 had bene done by appointement. The tumult that dyd
 rise in the campe by ladinge of cariages, & by the calling
 þ one made vnto another, came vnto the kinges eares.
 Thys rumour obteyned the sooner credite, by the dys-
 patche of certayne Greeke souldiers, whom Alexander
 had dissimiled into theyr countrey, wyth the gifte of. vi.
 thousande deniers to euery horseman: Ther vpon ta-
 king occasion to thinke that the warre had bene at an
 ende. Alexander, whose purpose was to passe into In-
 dia, and the vttermoost boundes of the Orient, was no
 lesse afraide of thys matter, the the case required. And
 therefore called before hym the capitaines of his army,
 with the teares in eies made a greate complainte vn-
 to theym: that in the middle course of hys glorie he
 should thus be pulled backe, and compelled to retourne
 into hys countrey rather as a man vanquished then as
 a victorour. Whiche misfortune (he sayed) he coulde not
 impute to hys souldiers, nor iudge þ theyr cowardnes
 did geue impediment to his proceedinges, but þ it was
 onely the enuye of the goddes, that put so sodaine a de-
 sire of theyr countrey into the mindes of valiaunt men,
 which within a while should haue returned with grea-
 ter glory and fame. Therupon they al promised to tra-
 uaille in refozmacion of the matter, offeringe them sel-
 ues in al thinges (were they neuer so difficult) to do as
 he woulde haue them. And they promised also, the obe-
 dience of the souldiers, if so be þ he woulde make some
 gentle and apte oracion to pacifie them: which were ne-
 uer yet seene departe fro him in any desperacyon or dy-
 surbaunce of mynd, if they once behelde the chearfulness
 of hys countenaunce, and the courage procedyng fro
 his

his heart. He promised so to do, and required at theyr hande to prepare in the multitude an aptnes to geue hym eare. When all thynges were prepared whiche were thought expedient for the purpose, he assembled all hys armye together, and made thys Oration vnto them. When ye consider (my souldiours) the greatnes of the actes whiche ye haue done, and the manifold conquestes that ye haue made, it is no maruayle at all, that ye be enclyned to quietnes, and fully satysfied with fame and gloze. For leauing to speake of the Ilirians, and Triballes, of Boetia, Thracia, and Sparta, of the Acheians, and Peloponensiens, whom I haue subdued, part in person and the rest by appoyntment: I will not make rehearfall of the warre we began at Hellespont, and howe we deliuered from the intolerable seruitude of the barbarian nations, Jonas and Aeolides, and gotte vnto our possession both Caria, Lidia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Baphlagonia, Pamphilia, Cilides, Cilicia, Siria, Phenices, Armenia, Persie, Medie, & Parthema. We haue gotten more countreyes then other haue taken cities: & yet (I am sure) the multitude haue caused me to leaue some of them unrehearsed. If I coulde thinke that the possessio of these landes that we haue conquered in so short tyme coulde remaine sure vnto vs: then (my souldiours) I would, though it were against your wylls, breake from you to visite my house, and my home, to see my mother, my sisters, and my countrey men, to enioye there the laude and gloze that I haue gotten with you: Where as the ioyfull conuersation of our wyues, our chyldren and parentes, peace, quietnes, & a sure possession of thinges gotten through our valiauntnes do tarye for vs, as large rewardes of our victorie. But if we will cōfesse the truth, this new empyre

Alexanders
Oration vnto
the souldiours.

pire which we haue not yet at commaundement, but is kept as it were by waye of entreaty, doth require a time, that this stiffe necked people may learne to beare our yoke, and by framing their dyspositions to a moze humanitie, bryng theyr cruell nature to a moze ciuile conuersation. Doe we not see that the colme in the fildes asketh a tyme for his ryping: and though the same be without sense, yet hath it hys course to be brought to perfection. Doe you beleue that so many nations not agreeyng with vs in religion, in custome, nor in ble of tongue, accustomed to the empyre and name of another man, will be conquered and brought to subiection with the winning of one battaile: No trust me, they be kept vnder with the feare of our poure, and do not obey vs of theyr owne good willes. And they whiche shew you obedience when ye be here emonges them, when you be absent will be your enemies. You must thinke that ye haue to do with wild beastes, which being fierce of nature whē they be fyrst taken, must be shut vp and tamed with time. Hitherto I haue resoned with you as though we had cōquered & whole dominion & pertained to Darius, which is nothing so. For Nabarzanes possesseth Hyrcania, & the traytour Vessus not only entoieth Bactria, but also threatneth vs. The Sogdians, Dahans, Massagetes, Sagans, and the Indians, remaine yet in theyr owne libertie and iurisdiction, which shall not see our backs so soone turned, but they will folowe vs in the tayles. They all haue a certaine frendshyp and amitie one with an other: but we be all straungers and foreyners vnto them. There is no creature, but that will moze gladly be obedient to rulers of hys own nation, then to foreyners, be their gouernement neuer so terrible. We are drien of necessitie therefore to
winne

winne that we haue not, or els to loose that we haue al-
ready gotten. As phisitions in sicke bodics will leaue
no humour that maye hurte: so lykewoyse we must cut
awaye what so euer shall be impediment vnto our em-
pire. Haue you not seene great fyres risen of small spar-
kes not regarded? We maye not neglect anye thing in
our enemies: whom the more we despise, & more strong
we make them. And because you shall not thinke it such
an impossibilitie for Bellus to make himself king, wher-
as a kyng wanteth, you shal vnderstande that Darius
came not to his empire by inheritaunce, but got into the
seate of Cyrus by & benefite of Bagoas hys Eunuche.
We cominit an heynous offence (my souldiours) if we
make warre against Darius, & put him downe for the
intent to geue hys kingdome vnto his seruauant: yea,
and to suche one as attempted so vyle an acte agaynst
his maister, at suche a tyme as he had most neede of
helpe. And whome we beyng his enemies woulde
haue spared: he being hys subiect, put hym in chaynes
as a captiue, and finally slewe hym because he shoulde
not be preserued by vs. Shall you suffre this kynde of
man to raygne: no let vs make all the speede we may
to see him crucified, & so to shew vnto all kinges and na-
tions a iustice doone vpon one, that so vilelye falsified
his sayth. If the report shoulde come vnto you beyng
in your own countreys, that the same man were destroy-
ing of the Greeke cities about Hellespont: O god how
sory woulde you be then, and howe muche would you
lament that Bellus shoulde enioye that you haue got-
ten, and vsurpe the rewardes of your victorie? Then
would you make hast to recouer your owne, the woulde
you bende your selues to the warres. But howe much
better is it now to oppresse him whyles he remaineth
in

in suche feare, and is vncertayne what waye to take:
 Shall we spare to spende .iiii. dayes iourney to come
 to hym, that haue ouertroden suche snowes, that haue
 passed so many riuers, that haue climed so many moun-
 taines: to whose iourney the flowing sea coulde be no
 impediment, nor the streyght of Cilicia coulde shut vp
 our waye: Nowe all thinges are made plaine and open,
 and we stand in the enterie of our victorie. There be but
 a fewe fugitiues and kylles of theyr maisters that do
 remaine. What more notable worke can you leaue vn-
 to your posterite, to be registred by fame vnto your glo-
 ry, then to reuenge such as were traytours to Darius:
 You shall therby shewe that when you were enemyes
 vnto him, yet your hatred ended with his deathe, and
 that no wicked man could escape your handes. Whiche
 thing if you bring to passe, howe much more obedient
 do you thinke the Persians shal be vnto you, when they
 perceiue you to take iust waies in hande, and that it
 was not Bessus name wherewith ye were offended: but
 with his faultes and euill doynges. His oration was
 receiued of the Souldyours with suche gladnes, that
 they streight waies desyred hym to cary them whether
 he woulde. And he that coulde vse the occasion of theyr
 good moode, passed through Parthemia, and came to
 the boundes of Hircania, leauyng Craterus (with the
 band, wherof he had the rule, and sixe thousande horse-
 men, of whom Amintas had the charge, with þ like num-
 bre of Archers) to defend Parthemia from the incursion
 of the barbarous nations. He appoynted Erigonus a
 smail poure to attend vpon his cariages: willing him to
 passe with them through the plain countrey, and he him-
 selfe with his footemen, and with the rest of his horse-
 men, marched forwarde .c. fytie furlonges, and en-
 cam

Remains,

camped in a balley at the entrey of Hircania. In the
 same place be great wooddes full of myghe and thye
 trees, and the bottome of the balley is very fruitfull, by
 reason of the spynges that come fourth of the rockes.
 Out of the foote of the mountaynes there ryseth a riuer
 called *Robertis*, whiche within three furlonges of the
 head, is diuided by a rocke, standing in the myddes of
 the streame, causing the water to go two soddy wayes:
 whiche afterwarde commyng agayne into one cha-
 nell, runneth more byolentlye then befoze, by reason of
 the fall from the rockes. And sodainly it sinketh into the
 ground, and so runneth hydden by the space of .ccc. fur-
 longes, and then commeth fourth agayne, as it were
 out of a newe spyng, being then in bzeadth .xiii. fur-
 longes, and as it runneth forwarde, draweth more nar-
 rowe, and falleth into another streame named *Rhyda-*
 go. The inhabitours of the countrey affyrmed that all
 thinges cast in where the streame loke into the groun-
 d, would appeare and come out agayne at the next issue.
 For the prouyng of whiche conclusion, Alexander cau-
 sed two Bulles to be cast in, where the water entered,
 whose bodies were founde by suche as were appoy-
 ned for the purpose, where the streame brake out again.
 In this place he refreshed his armye foure dayes: du-
 tyng whiche tyme *Nabarzanes*, (whiche was confe-
 derate with *Bessus* in kyllyng of the kyng) dyd wyte
 letters to him, in effect, how that he was no enemy vnto
Darius, but counsailed him euer to do suche thinges as
 he iudged most profitable: and for his faithful counsaile
 was put in daunger of his life by him, who went about
 against all reason to commit the custody of hys person
 to straungers, condemnynge therby the fidelitie of hys
 owne nation, which they had kept vnspotted towardes
 they?

*Robertis**Rhydagō*

The effect of
Nabarzanes
 letters to *Alexander*.

theyr kinges by the space of.ccxr. yeares: wherfore
seeing himselfe in that peryll and daunger, tooke coun-
sell of his pzeent necessitie. And alleged that it was al-
wayes admittid lawfull for a man to kill such one, who
he knewe to conspyre his death, whiche was an excuse
(he saied) wherwith Darius satisfied the people, when
he had slaine Bagoas. He alleged that nothing was
more deare to mortall creatures then lyfe, for the loue
wherof he was driven to this extremitie, in committing
an acte which necessitie rather compelled him to do, then
his owne disposition. For in a generall calamitie euery
man hath his fortune. If he would commaund him to
come to his pzeence, he said he would not refuse to doe
it: for he coulde not feare þ so great a kyng woulde vio-
late his promise, seeyng one God is not wont to deceiue
another. But if he should seeme vnworthy to whom he
would geue his assuraunce, there were many countreis
for him to flee vnto. For al men hauing vertue in them,
count alwaies that for their countrey, where they make
theyr dwelling place. Alexander made no stay to geue
him hys sayth, after suche sort as the Persians vsed to
receiue promys: whiche was, saufely to come and go.
Notwithstanding he marched in orde of battayl, send-
yng euer scourers befoze to dyscouer the grounde.
The lyght armed were appoynted to the vaward: the
phalanx folowed after, and the baggage behynde. For
by reason the same was a warlike nation, & the countrey
hard to enter vpon: it caused þ king to loke earnestly vpon
the matter. The same valley stretcheth out to the Cas-
pian sea, the bakkes therof resemblyng the hornes of the
moone befoze it cometh to the full, the sea lieng betwixt
them lyke a great bay. Vpon the left hand the people in-
habite that be called Cercetes, which lye open towards
the

the North, and vpon the other part the Leucosirians, Mossynes, and Chalibes, and the plaines of the Araxes lye towarde the west. This sea which some call the Caspian, & some the Hircanian sea, being more sweete then anye other, bringeth fourth serpentes of a wonderfull bignes, & fishes differing in colour much from al the rest. There be diuers of opiniõ that þe lake of Meotis should runne into this sea, which they coniecture of the water, thinking the same to receiue his sweetenes of the lake. Towardes the North the sea groweth into a flat thore, and putteth fourth his waters farre vpon the land, which ryling high, make many meares and plashes. And as by certain course of the planets they flow out, so at a certayne time by an ebbe, they returne in againe, restoring the ground to his former estate. Some beleue those waters to be no parcell of the Caspian sea, but that they come out of Jude, and runne into Hircania, which lieth low in the foresaid valley. The kynge being remoued frõ that place, marched forwardes .xx. furlonges in a wild desert way, where great woodes hong continually ouer theyr heades, & brookes of water and myze gaue great impediment to their iourney. But at length without any impedimēt of his enemies, he passed those difficulties, and came vnto a more faire cuntry: wherin besides other victualles (wherof it did haue bound) grew great plenty of apples, & the ground was very apt for vyues. There were also plenty of a certain kind of trees much lyke vnto Okes, whose leaues were couered with hony, which þe inhabitours gather before the sonne rylng: for els the moysture would be dyled by with the heate. When Alexander had passed .xxx. furlonges more forwardes, Phrataphernes met hym, yeldyng both hym selfe, and suche other as fled awaye after

Leucosirians
Mossynes.
Chalibes,

The Caspi-
an sea,

Phrataphernes
Mossynes
Chalibes

Truas.
Phradates.

Capurians

Menape.

Artabazus
added to Alexander.

after Darius death, whom he receyued gentely, and came to a towne called Aruas. Thither came Craterus and Erigonus, bringyng with them Phradates that had the rule of the Capurians: whose kindly receiuyng and gentle entertainment was the cause that many followed his example, in committynge them selues to Alexanders mercy. Menape was there made Prynce of Hircania: who being a banished man in the time of Ochus, came to kyng Philyp for refuge: and Phradates also was restored to the office he had before. Whē Alexander was come to the uttermost boundes of Hircania: Artabazus whō we declared to shew himselfe alwaye to his maister, met Alexander with Darius kinsmen & children, and with a small bande of Grecke souldiours. The king at his comming profered him his hande, because he had bene entertayned before by king Philyp: whē he was banished by Ochus: but the chiefe cause he accepted him so well, was for the continuall fidelitie that he obserued to wardes his Prynce. He beyng thus gentely receiued by Alexander, said vnto him: Syr lōg may you florish & reigne in perpetuall felicitie. I that reioyce in al other thinges, with one am chiefly greued, that by reason of myne olde age, I shall not be hable long to enioye your goodnes. He was. lxxxv. yeares of age, & brought with him. ix. sōnes bozne of one mother, whom he presented before the king, prayeng God to continuethē liues so long as their seruice might be acceptable vnto him. Alexander was accustomed much to walke on foote, but then lest the olde man myght be ashamed to ryde, he going on foote, called for hōzles for thē both. When he was encāped, he sent for the Greckes that Artabazus brought. But they made request fyrst he would geue assuraunce to the Lacedemonians he were enemy.

amonges them, or els they would take aduise amonges
 them selues what were best to do: The same were the
 Embassadors that the Lacedemonians had sent vnto
 Darius, which after the battaile, ioyned them selues
 to the Greekes that were in Darius wages. The kynge
 willed the to leaue al assurances & copositions, & come
 to receiue such appointment as he wold giue the. They
 stode long in a stay varieng in opinions: but at length
 they agreed so to do: Saulus Democrates of Athens,
 which chiefly had euer oppugned the successe of the Ma-
 cedons, who despairing of pardon slewe him selfe. But the
 other, as they had determined, submitted them selues to
 Alexanders wil, being .x. M. v. c. in numbze, besides .iiii.
 score and .x. of such as were sent Embassadors vnto
 Darius. The more parte of the souldiers were by stry-
 buted amonges the bandes to fyll vp the numbzes that
 wanted, & the rest were sent home, except the Lacedemo-
 nians, which he commaunded to be put in prison. There
 was a nacion called Hardons boundyng next to Hit-
 cania, rude in their maners and blages, accustomed to
 lyue by theft: They neither sent Embassadors, nor
 gaue any significatiō that they woulde be at Alexanders
 commaundement: he toke therat great indignacyō that
 any one people should giue impediment to hys victorie,
 and therfore leuing a guard for his cariages, went a-
 gainst the with a strong powze. He marched forwardes
 in the night, & by the tyme that the daye appeared, hys
 enemies were in sight. But the matter came rather to a
 larme then to any fyght. For the enemies were sone
 driuen from the hilles, who flieng away, left theyz vil-
 lages to be sacked by the Macedons. But the armye
 could not passe into the inward partes of the countrey
 without great trouble & vexacyon, the same being com-
 passed

The Hardons,

passed about with high mountaynes, great woodes & desert rockes, & the partes which were plaine were defended with a straunge kind of fortification, & is to saie with trees set thicke of purpose, & boughes wherof whē they were young, were wreathed one wythin an other: The toppes bowed downe were put into the grounde agayne, fro whēce as out of an other roote there sprong newe bzaunches. They woulde not suffre the same to growe as nature brought thē fourth, but dyd knyt thē so one wyth an other, that whē they were full of leaues, they couered cleane & earth. The trees thus wreathed one with an other, enclosed in & countrey as it were with a cōtinual hedge, and were as mares to entangle suche as would go about to enter. There was no way coulde be deuised to passe through & laue, but onely by cutting downe of the woode. And therein they found a greate difficultie and much trauaile by reaso & the wreathing & wrapping together of & boughes kept thē of from the bodie of the trees, & the weaknes of & boughes so yelded to the strokes, & they coulde not easily be cut a sonder: The inhabiteers of the countrey were accustomed to creape emonges the brushe like wild beastes, and by priue salies breake out vpon theyr enemies. Alexander therfore caused hys men after the maner of hunters to seke out thair luckynge places, & killed many of thē. But at length he environed the woode with hys souldyers round about, to thintent they might breake in at euery place, where they should spie any entre. In doing wherof, many wandred & lost their company in places & they knew not, and were taken prisoners: & emonges them Bucephalus Alexanders horse, whō he dyd not esteeme as men do other beastes: for he would not suffre any other man to leape vpon hym: and whē the king would

Bucephalus
Alexanders
horse.

ryde

ryde he would kneele doونه bpon his knees to receiue
 hym, so that he seemed to haue the sense to vnderstande
 whome he caried. Alexander was more sorowfull, and
 stirred to a greater wrath for the losse of the horse, then
 was expedient for such a cause: for serching about to get
 the horse againe, caused proclamation to be made by an
 interpretour that except he were restored, he would not
 leaue one of the countrey men aliue. When they heard
 this terrible threatning, emōges other giftes, they pre-
 sented vnto Alexander his horse. Yet he was not ther-
 with pacified, but commaunded the woodes to be cut
 downe, and the wayes to be made playne whylke he
 cutte through the woodes. This worke wēt so wel for-
 ward, that the inhabiteurs dispayninge of habilitie to de-
 fend their countrey, yelded them selues to the kyng, and
 who receyving their pledges, committed them to the
 keepinge of Phradates, and from thence the fiftie daye
 retourned agayne to his campe. There he gaue to Ar-
 tabasus the double honour & Darius dyd vnto hym, &
 sent hym home againe into his countrey. After that he
 came to the citie of Hircania, where Darius Palace
 was. Nabarzanes vpon assuraunce came thither, bring-
 ing with him great giftes, and emonges the rest pre-
 sented vnto Alexander Bagoas an Eunuche of singuler
 beauty, beyng in the firste flowre of youth, whom Da-
 rius accustomed, and after Alexander: at whole inter-
 cession specially he dyd pardon Nabarzanes. The na-
 tio of the Amazōs beyng neere vnto Hircania (as hath
 ben sayed before) did inhabite the playnes of Themys-
 scire about the riuer of Thermodoonta, & had a quene
 reigning ouer the called Thalestris, whylke kept vnder
 her dominion all the countreies betwene the Mounte
 Caucasus, and the riuer of Phasis. She for the great
 affection

The Amazons

Therma-
doonta.

Phasis.

Thalestris
mette Alex-
ander

affectyon she had to see Alexander, trauailed out of his owne countrey, and beinge come neere where he was, sent certayne befoze, to declare that a quene was come of desire to visite hym, and to make his acquaintaunce. When libertie was giuen her to come to his presence, she caused all the rest of his bande to stay, and she came forwarde accompanied wth CCC. womē. Allone as she perceyued Alexander, she leaped from her horse carryinge two Lances in his hande. The Amazons apparayle is such that it doth not couer all theyr bodyes: for theyr brestes bee bare on the lefte syde, and theyr garments whiche they vse to knytte vp wth a knot, come not to theyr knees. One breste they alwaies reserue vntouched, wherewth they noy^s the theyr woman childre, but theyr right brestes they vse to seare, to make them more apt to drawe theyr bowes, and cast theyr dartes. Thalestris looked vpon Alexander with a bould countenance, and considered in beholding of hym, that his personage answered not to the same that she had heard of his actes. For the barbarous nations gaue great veneracyon to the maiesty of the personage, thynking none to be sufficient for the doinge of great actes, but suche as nature haue indued with greates personages. It was demaunded of him, if he had any request to make vnto Alexander: wherat she abashed not to confesse that she was come thither to gette childre with hym: thynking her selfe a personage worthy of whome he shoulde get heires to inherite his kyngdome, wherein she couenaunted that if it were a woman she woulde kepe it styll, and if it were a man chylde, she woulde restore it to the father. Alexander enquired of her, if she woulde go forwarde with hym in his warres: but therein she excused her selfe, that she had lest no o^rdre for the defence

sence of her kyngdome. But she continued styll in declaratyon of the cause of her comynge, and required that her hope therin mighte not be in bayne. The womans appetite seemed to be moze vehemently geuen to luste then the kynges was: yet she obtayned of hym to stave for her cause, and consumed thirtene dayes in satisfieng of hir desire. That done she departed to her owne kyngdome, and Alexander wente to Parthenia, whych was the place where he first shewed manifestly the vyces that were in hym. There he turned his continence, and moderacon (beyng the moste excellent vertues appearyng in any kynde of estate) into pryde and voluptuousneise, not esteiminge hys countrey customes, nor the holssome temperaunce that was in the blages and discipline of the kynges of Macedon. For he iudged their ciuil blage and maner to be ouer base for hys greatnes: but dyd counterfeit the heyghte and pompe of the kynges of Persie, representyng the greatnes of the Goddes. He was content to suffer men there to fall downe flatte vpon the ground and worshyp hym, and accustomed the victors of so many nacyons, by litle and litle to seruaile offices, couetyng to make them lyke vnto hys captiues. He ware vpon hys head a Diademe of purple, interpaied wyth white, lyke as Darius was accustomed, and fashioned hys apparayle after the maner of the Persians wythout scrupulositie of any euill token that it signified for the victor to chaunge hys habite into the fashyon of hym whom he had vanquished. And though he aduanced that he ware the spoiles of hys enemies: yet wyth those spoiles he put vpon hym theyr euill maners: and the insolencye of the mynde, folowed the pryde of the apparayle. Besides he sealed suche letters

Here Alexan
der fyrste for
soke vertue &
fell to vice.

as he sent into Europe wyth his accustomed seale: but all the letters he sente abrode into Asia, were sealed with Darius rynge. So it appeared that one mynde coulde not beare the greatnes that appertayned to two. He appareyled also hys frendes, his capitaynes, & hys horsemen in Persian apparell, wherat though they grudged in theyr myndes, yet they durste not reuise it for feare of hys displeasure. Hys court was replenyshed wyth concubines: for he still maynteyned thre hundred and .lx. that belonged to Darius, and emonges them were flockes of Eunuches accustomed to perforce & vse of women. The old souldiers of Philip naturally abhorryng suche thinges, manifestly wythstode to be infected wyth suche voluptuousnes, and straunge customes. Wherupon there rose a generall talke and opiniõ throughout þe cãpe, that they had lost more by the victory, then they had wonne by the warre. For when they sawe them selues ouercome in suche excesse: and fozeine customes so to preuaile emonges them, they iudged it a sleder reward of theyr long being abrode, to retorne home in the habite of prisoners. They began to be ashamed of their king, that was more like to suche as were subdued, then to them that were victorious: and that of a kynge of Macedon, was become a prince of Perse, & one of Darius courtiers. When he vnderstode that the chiefe of hys frendes and hys men of warre were greuously offended wyth hys doinges, he went about to recouer fauour agayne wyth giftes and liberalitie: but it is to be thought that the rewardes of seruitude be vngratefull to free men. And therfore lest thys matter myghte turne into a sedicyon, he thought good to breake the imaginaciõs encreased by idlenes with the exercise of warre, wherof an apt occasion was geuen.

For Bellus inuestinge him selfe as a kynge, toke vpon hym the name of Artaxerxes, drawing to hys parte the Scythians and other that were the inhabiteurs of the Ryuer of Chanais: whiche thinges were reported to hym by Nabarzanes, whom he had receyued into hys fauour, & geuen the rule of the countrey that he had before. When he had determined this new expedition, he found hys army so ouercharged and laden with spoyle & other furnimētes of voluptuousnes, that they could not scarly moue. Wherfore he commaunded the baggage and stuffe of the whole army to be brought together in one place, excepting onely such thinges as were very necessary. The place was large and playne wher the cartes were brought laden: and when euery one stode waytinge and musing what he woulde commaund them to doe, he caused the beastes to be removed first out of the way, and then set hys owne fardels on fyer, and after all the reste. Whyles these thynges were burnyng, the owners were on fyer, to see those thynges consumed, for the sauyng wherof they had oft quenched the flames in Cities of theyr enemyes. Yet no man durst lament the price of hys owne bloud, seing they sawe the fyer consume the kynges ryches as well as theyr owne: and the rather to pacifie them, the kyng did mytigate their dolour wyth a bryefe oratyon. Wher vpon they that were euer apt for the warres, and redy to doe all thynges, beganne to bee ioyfull that wyth the losse of theyr baggage, they had preserved theyr discipline accustomed in the warres. As they were setting forwardes towardes Bactria, Pycanor the sonne of Patamenio dyed sodenly, whome euery man greatly lamented: but chiefly the kyng was so sorowefull, desyring to haue stayed for the celebracon of hys buriall.

Bellus toke
vpon him as
kyng

Pycanor

Satibarzanes.

The siege of
a rocke.

all, but that wante of vitayles caused hym to hast for-
wardes . Philotas therfore was left behynde with
two thousand syx hundred souldiers to persourne the
ceremonies appertaining to hys brothers buriall, and
he hym selfe marched towardes Bessus. In the waye
letters were brought to Alexander fro the princes ther-
about, that Bessus was comming towardes hym with
a great army: addyng therunto that Satibarzanes
whome he had made prince of the Arians, was newly
rebelled. For that cause (not wythstandynge he was
come nere vnto Bessus) he thought it best firste to op-
presse Satibarzanes: and for that intente brought for-
wardes hys horsemen and footemen that were lyght
armed, to invade hym sodaynly. Hys comming was
not so prouide, but Satibarzanes knewe therof and
fled into Bactria wyth two thousand horsemen. For by
reason he was not able to assemble any more in so short
a tyme, the reste toke the next mountaynes for theyr re-
fuge . There was a rocke whiche towardes the west
was hyghe and steape , but towardes the east more
lowe and easye to be clymed vpon, whiche parte was
full of trees. The same rocke being in compasse xxxiiij.
furlôges had a fountaine rōning cōtynually, & in þe toppe
a greene playne, where they placed the weaker multy-
tude: but the rest that were apt for defence beyng to the
numbre of thirtene thousand, gotte them selues to the
edges of the rocke, and there theyr downe stoures and
logges: the Macedon vpon that came to assaile them.
He left Craterus to besyge thys rocke, and wente in
parson to pursue Satibarzanes . And because he
vnderstode that he was fledde farre of, returned backe
agayne to the siege of them that were vpon the rocke.
Fyrste he caused all thynges to be taken awaye, that
myght

myght be anye impediment to hys men in the assaulte
geuyng. But when they came to the bare and steape
rocke, the labour seemed waite, where nature wrought
against them. But he that was of a dispositio alwaies
to stryue against difficulties, considering howe hard a
matter it was to go forwarde, and howe dangerous
to retorne backe agayne, dyd cast in hys head all the
wayes and deuyses that could be ymagined, and nowe
fantasied one thing, and then another, as men be wont
when that waies they haue found out first do not please
them. As he stood in a staye in doubte what to do, for-
tune did minister vnto him a meane, which neither wit
nor reason could inuent. It chaunced that the wind blew
soe at the south west, what time the souldiours had fel-
led great plenty of wood, wherof they thought to make
scaffoldes to mount vp against the rocke, and the heate
of the sonne had made the same drye. When Alexander
perceiued the wynde to blowe after that sort, and the
woode lyeng in that place, conceiued by and by his pur-
pose, and willed more trees to be cut downe, & laid vpon
them, putting all other thinges to it, that were apte to
kindle and nouryshe fyre: So that trees heaped vpon
trees, became as it were a mountaine, so hygh as the
toppe of the rocke. The same being set on fyre in al par-
tes at once, the winde carped the flame into the face of
their enemies, and the smoke couered ouer the sky. The
noyse was then great that the fyre made, which burned
not onely the trees that were fyrred of purpose, but also
the rest of the woode growing neare there about. The
enemies were so tormentted with the flame and heate of
the fyre, that they were enforced to forsake theyr place
of strength & attempted to escape awaye where the fyre
gaue them least impediment. But where the fyre gaue
place,

Artacnan.

place, the Macedons stood in readines to receiue the,
 so that they were consumed and slaine, diuers kynde of
 wayes. Some threwe them selues downe the rockes,
 some ran into the middes of the fyre: other fell into their
 enemies handes: and a fewe halfe consumed with fyre,
 were take prisoners. Whe Alexander had done this act,
 he returned to Craterus which besieged Artacna, who
 hauing prepared all thinges in readines, taried onely
 for the kinges commyng, to geue him the honour of the
 winning of the citie. When Alexander was come, he ap-
 proched the walles with the towres of timber he had
 prepared for the assault, at the sight wherof the inhabi-
 tauntes were so afraied, that they held vp theyr han-
 des from the walles, requiring him to spare them, and
 execute his wrath vpon Satribarzanes that was the
 aucthour of theyr rebellion. Alexander pardoned them
 freely, and not onely leuyed his siege, but also restored
 to the inhabitauntes all thinges that pertained to the.
 As he remoued from this citie, there came vnto hym
 a newe supplie of souldiours. 30 plus brought out of
 Grece fyue hundred horsemen, and thre. M. whiche
 Antipater sent out of Illiria. There came a hundred &
 thirty Thessalie horsemen with Philip, who also brought
 of souldiers straungers out of Lidia, two. M. fyue hun-
 dred footemen and three hundred horsemen. Alexander
 hauing thus encreased his poure, entered into the
 countrey of the Dragans, whiche were a warlike
 nation, and vnder the gouernement of Nabarzanes,
 who beyng of counsell with Bessus in the treason that
 he committed against his prince, when he heard of Al-
 lexanders commyng, for feare of the punishment he
 hadde deserued, fledde into India. Thus had they
 ben in campe vyne dayes. when Alexander beyng
 without

Dragans.

without feate of anye enemye, and invincible agaynst
all forreyn pourses, was brought in perill by treason of
his owne people. It chaunced that one Dimnus a man A treason co-
spired against
Alexander,
of meane behauour and aucthoritie with his Prince,
was greatly enamored in the loue of a young man cal-
led Nicomachus, with whō he vled much familiar con-
uersation. This Dimnus on a time being in a passion, Dimnus.
(as it well appeared by his countenance) allured thys
young man into a Temple: where remayning alone to-
gethers, declared that he had certain secrets to shewe
him, which in no wise were to be repoynted again. Ther-
by he brought Nicomachus in great suspicion, what Nicomachus
the matter should be: For befoze he woulde tell him, he
made a protestatiō by the loue and familiaritie betwixt
them, that he would assure him by his othe to keepe the
thing secret: who supposing the matter to be of no such
weyght, that he ought with pericurie and breakyng of
his othe to dysclose the same agayne, sware by the god-
des there present. Then Dimnus opened vnto hym
howe there was a treason conspired agaynst the king,
whiche within three dayes should be put in execution,
wherof (he saied) he hym selfe was priue with dyuers
men of nobilitie and estimation. When Nicomachus
dyd heare it to be such a matter, constauntly denyed
then that his promise extēded to concele treason, wher-
vnto no othe nor religion coulde bynde a man. When
Dimnus hearde hym saye so, he became in a rage be-
twixt loue and feare, and clasped the young man by the
hande, requiring him with weping eyes, that he would
not sticke to be a partaker in the execution of this con-
spiracye, or at the least, if his heart would not serue
him, that he woulde keepe his counsell secret, in res-
pecte that he had founde suche proufe of loue in him,
to

to commit his lyfe into his handes without any further proufe of his fidelitie. But in conclusion when he perceiued that Nicomachus woulde in no wyse agree to his purpose, but manifestly abhorred the acte, he vled dyuers meanes to bring hym to his entent, one whyle entreating him with fayre wordes, and another whyle threating to kyll him. He called hym coward and traytour to hys frende, commendynge the goodlynes of the enterpryse, and putte hym in hoape of great prefermentes, in that he shoulde be partener of the kyngdome they went about to get. When he had proued all these wayes, and yet founde hym straunge, he thrust his sword one whyle to Nicomachus throte, and another whyle to his owne, so that at length by threating and fayre speaking, he brought him to prouise, both to keepe hys counsaile secret, and also to be assistaunt to the deede doyng. Yet neuertheles as one of a constant mynde (though for the tyme present he seemed to be wonne with the loue of his frend, and become agreable to his requestes) chaunged no part of his former purpose. This done, Nicomachus required to knowe what the men were, that had confederated them selues in so weyghtye a matter, because the persons (he sayed) were muche materiall that shoulde take so greate an enterpryse in hande. Then Dymnus though he were in great trouble of minde that he had brought the matter so farre forth, yet when he heard him aske the questiō, reioiced, and thanked him greatly, that he would so freely associate him selfe with suche maner of men, as Demetrius of the priue chaunbze was, Deculaus, Nicanoz, Aphobatus, Loccus, Diocemus, Archelopis, and Amintas. This communication once ended betwixt the, Nicomachus departed, & disclosed all the matter which he had

he had heard before, to a brother of his called *Ceballinus*: *Ceballinus*
agreyng betwixt them two, that *Pythamachus*
should remain stil secret in his tent, lest by his comming
to the kinges lodging, not bing to haue accesse vnto the
king, the conspiratours might perceiue themselves be-
trayed. *Ceballinus* repayed to the kinges lodgynge, &
taried before the gate, wayting for some mā nere about
the king, to bring him to his presence. It fortunied that
enongest many whiche passed by, onely *Philotas* the *Philotas*
sonne of *Parmenio*, demaunded why he wayted there.
To whō *Ceballinus* with a bashed countenaunce (wel
declaring the vnquietnes of his mind) reported al those
thinges which he had hearde of his brother, requirynge
him þ he would declare the same immediatly vnto the
kyng. *Philotas* departed from him vnto the king, with
whom that daye he had muche communication of other
thinges, & yet opened no part of the same matter which
was tolde hym by *Ceballinus*. At nyght as *Philotas*
came fourth, *Ceballinus* met him at the court gate, and
enquired whether he had done his message to the king
or not. He excused the matter that he could finde him at
no leasure. The next daye *Ceballinus* met hym again
goynge to the kyng, and put him in remembraunce of
that he had tolde hym before, to whom he aunswered
that he remembred it well: but yet for all that, he dysclo-
sed no part of the matter. *Ceballinus* began then to sus-
pect him, and intended no lenger to dysferre the thyng,
but opened the same to one *Hetron* maister of þ kinges *The treason*
armarpe: whō immediatly conueyed *Ceballinus* into *disclosed*
the armarpe, and went streyght to the kyng whych
was bathynge, and enfourmed hym of all that he had
heard. Alexander then made no delaye, but sent cer-
teyn of his garde to take *Quintus*, and after came
hym

him selfe into the armary. As soone as Ceballinus sawe
the king, he ranne to hym with great reioysing, and
said: loe, I haue preserved thee from the handes of thine
enemies. But Alexander examined hym of all the cir-
cumstaunces, and he agayne answered to euerye
poynt in order. The kynge was earnest to knowe
howe long it was sence Nicomachus had geuen hym
this information, & he confessed that it was thre daies.
Wherupon the kinge considering that he coulde not
with trueth haue conceled thys matter so long, com-
maunded that he should be put in warde. Then cryed
he out, and declared howe that at the same instaunt he
knew of the conspiracy fyrst, he opened it to Philotas,
of whō (he saied) he might inquire the truth. Therupon
it was demaunded of hym, whether he had required
Philotas to be brought to the kinges presence or no.
Whiche thing when the kynge by hys confession per-
ceiued to be true, and that he dyd styttely abide by hys
fyrst tale, he lysted bp his handes to heauen, the teares
fallyng from his eyes, greatly complayning that Phi-
lotas shoulde requyte hym with suche vntruth, whom
he most assuredly trusted. Dimnus in the meane sea-
son knowing for what cause he was sent for, woun-
ded hym selfe to death: but yet somewhat letted by them
that were sent to take him, was broughte before the
kynge, whom as soone as he behelde, sayed vnto him:
Dimnus, what haue I offended thee, that thou shoul-
dest thinke Philotas more worthy to be kynge of Ma-
cedon then I? At whiche woordes Dimnus became
speacheles, and castyng fourth a great sighe, tourned
his face from the kinges sight, and fell downe dead.
The king called Philotas before him, and sayed: thys
man whom thou here seest, shoulde haue suffered death
if it

The kinges
wordes to
Philotas,

if it coulde haue bene proued that he had concealed two
 dayes the treason prepared against me. With the which
 matter he chargeth the Philotas: to whom (as he saith)
 he gaue knowledge immediatlye: the more neare thou
 art about me, so much more greater is thy offence: and
 the faulte had bene more tolerable in him then in thee.
 Howbeit thou hast a fauourable iudge: for if there be a-
 nything that cannot be excused, yet at the least it maye
 be pardoned. To this Philotas nothing abashed (if the ^{Philotas}
 heart may be iudged by the countenance) made an- ^{answer.}
 swere, that Ceballinus brought him a tale, the reporter
 wherof was ouer lyght of credit to be beleued, and that
 he feared lest by the presentyng of such a matter whiche
 dyd ryle vpon bzablyng betwixt two persons of euill
 disposition, he might haue bene laught to scozne: But
 afterwardes when he once knewe that Diminus had slayn
 him selfe, he was clearelye then resolved no longer to
 haue prolonged the thing. And so fallyng downe before
 the king, besought him that he woulde rather haue res-
 pect to his lyfe past, then to his faulte, which was onely
 a concelement, and no act done. It is hard to say, whe-
 ther the king beleued him, or grounded bys displeasure
 more deapely in his heart: neuertheles in token of par-
 don, gaue him his hand, sayeng howe it appeared that
 the accusation was rather miscredited by him, then con-
 sidered of malice. Notwithstanding he called his counsell ^{Alexander}
 together amonges whom Philotas was not admitted, <sup>called a coun-
cell.</sup>
 but Nicomachus was brought in before the, where he
 declared all suche matters as he before had shewed to
 the king. There was one Craterus in speciall fauour
 with Alexander, which for the enuy he had to Philotas
 aduancement, bare him alwayes grudge: Who knew
 very well that the king had often bene displeased with
 Philo-

Craterus
woodes.

Philotas, for the ouermuch aduauuncyng of his good
seruice and valiaunt actes: but yet for all that in those
matters he was not suspected of treason, but onely no-
ted of presumption and arrogancie. Craterus thought
that he could not haue a better occasion to oppresse his
enemy, by colouring his priuate hatred with a pretense
of duetie towarde his prince. Would god (quod he) ye
had taken our counsell in the beginning of this matter:
for if ye would nedes haue pardoned him, ye shold haue
kept it to his knowledge how much he was in your dan-
ger rather then to haue brought him in feare of his life,
wherby ye shall make him moze mindefull of his owne
peryll, then of your goodnesse. For he may alwayes y-
magin your death: but you shall not be alwayes in case
to pardon him. Let it neuer sinke in your heart, that he
whiche purposed so haynous a treason would chaunge
his purpose for the beneuolence of a pardon: you knowe
well that such as offend are often in despayre of mercye.
And though he perchaunce eyther with repentaunce of
his faulte, or remembraunce of your goodnes would
chaunge his mynd, yet I am sure that his father Dar-
menio, generall capitaine of so great an army, and of so
grounded auctoritie amongst your souldiours (that
is with them in maner as your selfe) would be euil con-
tent to be in your debte for his sonnes lyfe. There be cer-
tain benefites hateful to men: and it is shame to confesse
to haue deserued deathe. Therfore I conclude, that he
had rather it should be thought you had done hi wrong,
then that ye had geuen him his lyfe. I can not see ther-
fore, but you shall be enforced to destroye them for your
owne suertie. There be enemies inough remayning yet
viconquered, against whom we be goyng: make your
selfe sure from your foes at home, so shall ye haue lesse
nede

neede to feare your enemies abroade. These were Cra-
 terus wordes and the residue of the counsaile were of ^{The opinion}
 opinio, that Philotas would neuer haue conceled this ^{of the conseil}
 conspiracye, excepte he had bene eyther principall or
 priuy therunto. For they thought there was no true
 man, or of honest hart, though he had bene none of the
 kynges familiers but one of hys meane seruautes,
 hearynge so muche as Philotas hearde, but woulde
 forthwith haue opened the matter. Yet he beyng the
 sonne of Parmenio, the maister of the kynges horse and
 of hys priuy counsaile, did not so much as y^e straunger,
 which straightwaies made relacon of that his brother
 had told hym. And where as he pretended that y^e kyng
 was at no leasure, that they iudged to be done to then-
 tent the accuser shoulde not seke any other to whome he
 he might vtter it. Where as Nicomach^{us}, albeit he was
 bounde by hys othe to the contrary, yet would he neuer
 rest, till he had dyscharged hys conscience. But Philo-
 tas when he consumed in maner the whole day in sport
 and pastime with the kyng, coulde not fynde in hys
 harte to cast forth a fewe wordes, specially in a mat-
 ter so much concernyng the kynges safeguarde. But
 admit (quod they) he had geuen no credite to the matter
 throughe the lightnes of the reporter, why shoulde he
 haue disferred the accuser. ii. dayes, as though he had
 beleued it. For if he had misliken y^e tale, he myght haue
 dismissed the partye. It was also alleged that euery
 mans mynde much misgeueth hym, when the matter
 concerneth hys owne iopardye. Muche more ought
 men to bee credulous when it touched the suertye of a
 kynges person, in whiche case it oughte to be examined
 though it be of small weight. They altherfore determi-
 ned that Philotas should be enforced to disclose y^e par-

perceiuinge them aboute to bynde hym, he exclaimed
 and saied: O Alexandre, the malice of myne enemyes
 haue preuayled aboue thy mercye. Speakyng these
 wordes, they couered hys face, & broughte hym into the
 court. The nexte daye the kynge gaue commaunde-
 ment that certeyne of the men of warre shoulde assem-
 ble in harneys to the numbze of. vi. M. besydes slaues
 and rascalles that filled full the court, whiche beyng
 assembled together, the garde compassed in. Philotas
 with their band, to the entente he shoulde not be espyed
 of the people, vntil such tyme as the kyng myght speake
 vnto them. For by an olde lawe of the Macedons the
 kynges in theyr owne persons were wonte to enquire
 in matters of treason: yet could not the kynges aucthor-
 itie preuaile to condemnacyon, excepte it were confir-
 med by the consente of the men of warre. Therefore
 the bodie of Dimnus was first broughte into the place,
 the moste parte vnknowyng what he had done, or by
 what chaunce he was slayne. Then came the kynge
 fourth to speake vnto the multitude, whych in hys con-
 tenaunce declared the dolour of hys hart: and the sad-
 nesse of suche as were nere about hym, caused vnto the
 rest greate expectacyon of the matter. He dyd cast hys
 eyes towarde the earthe, and stode long astonied & in
 a muse, but at length he plucked vp his spirits, & spake
 vnto them on thys wyse. By the treason of some men
 I was almost taken from you: but through the mercye
 and prouidence of the goddes, I am yet preserved. Your
 honourable presence doth constreyn me more behe-
 mently to be moued agaynst thos traytours, because
 the onely comforte and fruite of my lyfe is, that I re-
 mayne to geue thanks to so many noble me, to whom
 I am so much bounden. With speakyng of these wor-

The Oratour
 of Alexand.
 agaynst Philo-
 tias.

des the murmur of the multitude did interrupt his tale and the teares did fall from their eyes. Then the kynge began agayne hys tale. Howe muche more wyll you be moued when I shall shewe you the authours of so horrible a treason, the reherfall of whome I yet restryne, as one very loth to discouer theyr names. But I muste overcome the memory of my former fauoure, & vtter þe conspiracy of my vnnaturall people: for how is it possible for me to hyde so greate a treason. Parmenio a man of that age so depely in my det, throughte the moste ample benefites both of me and my father, and whome I most esteemed of al my frendes, is the capitaine and contriuer of all this mischiefe. His minister Philotas hath procured Leucolaus, Demetrius, and thys Dimnus (whose body here you se) with other parteners of theyr fury to my destruction. When he came to þe point, there rose throughtout þe multitude a great charme of a murmur and complaynt, suche as it wont to bee amonges a numbre, and specially of men of warre, when they are moued either with affectyon, or displeasure. With that Nicomachus, Metron, and Ceballinus were brought fourth, euery one of the geuing in euidence that they had spoken afore. yet appeared it not by any mans tale that Philotas was priue to that cōspiracie. But at the last when the noyse was celled, & the witnesses had saied al they could, the king proceded in thys wise. Of what maner mynd thinke you was this man whiche hearing the whole report, could find in his hart to cōcele þe matter, the truely wherof is well declared by the death of Dimnus. Ceballinus that reported an vncertayne tale for the trial therof was afraied of no tormentes, and neuer delaied the moment of tyme, vntyll he had discharged hym selfe: insomuche that he brake into þe place where

where I was bathinge: but Philotas onely feared nothing, he beleued nothing. O how gret a hart had this man, which hauynge knowlege of the daunger of hys kynge, did neuer chaunge countenance, neither take so much paine as to heare out the tale of thaccuser: but in this silence and concelement there is treason hydden, and þe gredy desire he had to reigne, did dꝛiue hym hedlong to attempt extreme mischief. Hys father is gouernour of Media, and beareth such a stroke emonges the capitaines and men of warre thowowe myne aucthority, that he hopeth for a great deale moze thẽ he hath. And because I am without chyldzen he esteemeth me not. But Philotas is deceiued. I haue chylde, frendes, and kinsfolke emonges you. So long as you be in saue garde, I shal not recken my selfe without heires: Then did he recite a letter that was taken, whych Parmenio had wꝛitten to hys sonnes Nicanoꝝ, and Philotas, wherein there appeared no greate pꝛoufe of any greater treaso intended. The effect was thys: First take good heede to your selues, and then to those that long to you: so shall we bying to passe that we haue purposed. Which letter the kynge enforced, saynge: it was wꝛitten after suche a maner, that if it came to hys sonnes handes it might be perceiued of them that knewe the matter. And if it were caught by þe way, it shoulde deceiue them that knewe it not. Then proceded he: nowe wyll Philotas perhaps saye, that when Dimnus named all that were partakers of hys conspiracye, he named not hym: as for that it is no pꝛoufe of hys innocēcy, but a token of hys powꝛer and aucthoritye, because he was spared of them that myght best beuoyay hym, which confessynge of them selues, durst not yet speake of hym. But what maner man he hath bene, hys lyfe doth shew. He was

A letter

fellowe and companyon to Amintas my kynsman,
 whiche conspired highe treason agaynste my person in
 Macedon. He gaue hys syster in maryage to Attalus,
 then whome I had neuer greater enemye. When by
 reason of olde frendshyp and familiarite I wrote to
 hym of the title geuen to me by the oracle of Iupiter
 Hammon, he dyd not sticke to aunswere: that he was
 very glad that I was admitted into the numbze of
 Gods: howbeit verye sorre for those that shoulde
 liue vnder suche one, as woulde excede the state of a
 man. These were playne tokens that hys harte was
 turned from me, and that he spited my glory. Whyche
 I kepe close in my harte, so long as I myghte. For I
 thought my bowels pulled from me, if I shoulde make
 a litle stoze of them, for whome I had done so muche.
 But now it is not their wordes that must be punished:
 for the rashnes of theyr tongues is turned to swordes,
 whiche (beleue me) Philotas hath whetted to my de-
 struction. Whom if I should suffer to escape, alas my
 souldiers whether shoulde I go: to whome shoulde I
 commit my person? He was the man that I made ge-
 nerall of my horsemen, of the greatest parte of myne ar-
 my, & of all the noble yong gentlemen. To his trouth &
 fidelite haue I committed my sauegarde, my trust, &
 victorie. His father did I preferre vnto the same estate,
 wherunto you aduanced me. Media, then whyche
 there is not a richer countrey, wyth many thousandes
 of your frendes and fellowes I haue put vnder his go-
 uernaunce, and aucthoritie. Where I trusted of most
 suertye, there found I most perill. Howe muche more
 happy had I bene to haue died in battaile, & rather ben
 slayne of myne enemyes, then thus betrayed of my sub-
 iectes: For nowe being saued from the daungers that
 I most

I most feared, I haue fallen into those that I oughte to haue doubted lest. You haue bene wont often times to warne me & I shulde regard my suertye. It is not that maye make me sure of that & you counsell me. To your handes & to your succour I flee. I would not lyue though I might against your wylls, and though you wold yet can I not, except I be delyuered from these my enemyes. Herupon Phylotas was broughte fourth in an olde garment, his hādes bound behind his backe. It well appeared howe muche thys miserable syghte moued them which late before enuied hym. The daye before they sawe hym generall of the horsemen, they knewe that he was at supper wyth the king, & sodainely they saw him both prisoner bounde like a thefe, and also condemned to die. So did it pitie their hartes to cōsider how Parmenio so noble a man, so greate a capitaine, which late hauinge lost two of his sonnes Hector, and Nicanoz, shoulde be put to aunswere absent wyth the thyzde sonne, whom euill fortune had lefte hym. The multitude beyng thus enclined to pitie: Amintas take mintas one of the kinges officers, with a cruell tale set the all agaynst the prisoner: we be all (qð he) betrayed to the barbarous nacions: none of vs shall retorne home to hys countrey, wife, nor frēdes, but as a maimed body without an heade, without honoure, without fame, in a straunge countrey, shalbe a mocking stocke to our enemies. His tale was nothing pleasānt to þe king, because he put the souldiers in the remēbraūce of their wifes & countrey, wherby he thought they would be the lesse willinge to go forwarde in his warres. There was one Cenus whych though he had married the systre of Phylotas, yet did he moze extremely enuye hym then anye other, callynge hym traitour agaynst hys kinge, to his

countrey, & to the whole army. And therupon toke by a stone that by chaunce laye at hys feete, to haue cast at Philotas, which he did (as some thought) to the end he myght ryd him from racking. But the king kept backe hys hand, and sayd that þ prisoner should haue libertie to speake for hym selfe, and would not suffer hym to be condemned other wyse. Then Philotas beinge admitted to speake, were it throughe the conscience of his offence, or throughe the greatnes of hys peril, as a mā astonished, and besides hym selfe, durste neyther looke by nor speake, but burst out into teares. Wherupon hys hart fainted, and he sowned down vpon those that led hym. But afterwardes when he had wiped hys eyes, and by litle and litle recouered his harte and tongue, he made countenance to speake. Then the kyng beheld hym in the face and sayed: The Macedons shalbe thy iudges. I would knowe therefore whyther thou wylte speake vnto them in thy countrey language, or not: to whome Philotas aunswered: there be diuers nacyns here besides the Macedons, which as I trust shall perceyue my wordes the better, if I vse þ same language that you did, because the more might vnderstand your tale. Then saied the kinge, marke howe this man hath hys owne countrey tongue in hatred. For there is none but he that wyll disdayne to speake it: but let him say what he wil, so longe as you remembre that he not onely disdaineth our customes, but also our language. And wyth þ word the kyng departed from thassemblic. Then sayed Philotas. It is easy for an innocent to finde wordes to speake: but it is very hard for a man in misery to keape a temperaunce in hys tale. Thus standing betwyxt a cleare conscience & most unhappie fortune, I know not in what wise I shall satisfie my selfe, and the tyme both together

together. For he that myght best haue iudged my cause is gone: what I cause is he woulde not heare me, I can not well ymagine, sith vpon the matter hearde, it lyeth onely in his handes bothe to dyscharge and condemne me. For the matter not heard, he cannot acquite me being absent, synce he condemned me when he was here present. But notwithstanding the defence of a prisoner is not onely superfluous, but also hatefull, whiche seemeth not to enfourme, but to reproue the iudge: yet will I not forsake my selfe, nor so do, that I shall seeme condemned by mine owne defaulte. I see not of what treason I should be gylty, among the conspiratours no man named me. Nicomachus saied nothing of me. Ceballinus could not tel moze of me the he heard. And yet doth the king beleue that I shoulde be head of this conspiracy. Was it possible that Dimnus should forget to name him that was chiefe: or is it likely that he woulde haue ouerslypped me, when the names of the conspiratours were demaunded of him: he would rather haue named me falsely to allure the young man the sooner to his opinion: yet when he tolde the matter priuely to Nicomachus, whom he beleued verely would haue kept it secret namyng him selfe and all the rest: of me onely he made no mention, wherin it cannot be gathered that he omitted me, for because he woulde haue spared me. I praye you my felowes, if no man had come to me, nor geue me knowlege of I matter, should I this daye haue bene put to aunswere, whē no man could haue accused me: But be it I Dimnus were alyue and would spare me: what thinke ye by the other: would they confesse of theselues, & forbear me: Aduersitie is malicious & spytefull. An offender whē he is punished him selfe, blyeth not to keepe silence to spare another man. Comminly he that goeth
to

to death will spare no man, noz no man wil spare hym þ
is ready to die: & yet so many as be gylty and put to tor-
mētes, wil there none cōfesse þ truth? But now I must
aunswere to the poynt þ was offence, if there were any.
why did I concele treason? why did I heare it with so
smal regard? this fault, if it wer a fault, thou hast par-
doned me (O Alexander) whersoever thou art, by geuing
me thy hand, & bidding me to thy banquet in token of a-
tonemēt. If you did beleue me, I am cleare. If you for-
gaue me, I am quyte. Stand at the least to your owne
iugemēt. Alas what haue I done sence this last night
I went frō your bourde? What new report hath chaun-
ged your mind? I rested in a sound slepe, when myne e-
nemies by their bindyng waked me, that was slepyng
in mine owne mylfortunc. Offendours when they can-
not sleape thzough their vnquiet cōscience are wout to
be vexed with cares, not onely when theyz mischiefe is
intended, but also when it is ended. But this quyetnes
came vnto me first thzough myne owne innocency, and
then by the kinges pardō. I feared not that others cru-
eltye should take more place, then hys mercye. But lest
he shoulde forthinke that beleued me: ye shall vnder-
stande that the matter was fyrst shewed me by a light
felowe. who coulde not bring any witnes oz warrantie
of hys tale: whiche if I had dysclosed, should haue put
manye men to trouble. O vnhappye man, I thought
mine eares had bene seduced with the bzabblementes
of two buggerers, and I suspected the trouble of the
partye, because he dyd not vtter the matter hym selfe,
but procured his bzother to doe it. I was in feare that
the one shoulde haue denyed that euer he shewed anye
such matter to the other, and then should I haue semed
to procure much trouble to many of the kinges frendes.

So

So that where I offended none, I haue founde some
more desirous to procure my death, then to saue my life.
What hatred suppose ye should I haue gotten if I had
accused innocentes? But Dimnus slew hymselfe: could
I therfore diuine afoze that he woulde so do: no suerly.
Thus his death being þ thing that onely tryed the ac-
cusation true, could not moue me to vtter it, beyng pre-
uēted by another. And if I had bene conspiratour with
Dimnus of so great a treason: is it lyke that I woulde
haue dissimuled by the space of two dayes after it was
discouered? As for Ceballinus, it had bene smal maieste-
ry to haue dispatched him out of the way. After þ thing
disclosed, wherfore should I haue delaied the matter? I
entred into the kinges chaūber alone, hauyng weapon
about me: why differred I my purpose? durst I not at-
tempt it without Dimnus? No perchaunce ye will say,
because he was the chief conspiratour. How then stan-
deth it together, that I should be his vnderlyng, which
did couet to be king of Macedon: which of you all haue
bene corrupt of me with bzybes: what capitayne, what
officer haue I made of aboue other? It is layed to my
charge that I abhorre the speakyng of my countreye
language, and that I disdayne the maners of the Ma-
cedons. What: do I despyse the kyngdome that I co-
uet. Ye know wel that our naturall tongue, through þ
conuersation of straunge nations is gone out of vze: as
well we that be victorours, as they þ be subdued must
learne a new language. But surely these thinges make
no more against me, then did the treason that Amintas
the sonne of Perdicas intended against the king. With
him I had frēdship I wil not deny: except ye wil make
it a thing vnlawful to loue the kinges brother. But si-
thēs it was our dutie to honour a mā called to þ degree
of

of fortune, I beseeche you am I gyltie because I could not gesse befoze that he would offend: Is the law such that the frendes of offenders must suffer being innocentes: If that be reason, why liue I so long: If it be no reason, why am I condemned to dye: But when I wrote that I had pitie of the that should liue vnder such a one as beleued himselfe to be the sonne of Iupiter: O faithfull friendship & dangerous libertie of true counsell, that deceiued me, that compelled me not to hyde that I thought. I confesse that I wrote so to the king, but not of the king. I did it not for spyte, but for my duties sake. I thought it more meete for Alexander to haue knowleged the kinred of Iupiter with silence, then to haue made aduante therof with bayne boasting. But for because the truth of Gods Oracle is certain, let God be witnes in my cause. Receyue me in prison till ye may know Iupiters aunswere concerning this conspiracy. And in the meane season he that hath bouchsaufed our king to be his sonne, will suffer none of them that haue conspired agaynst his offsprynge, to be vnknewen. If you suppose tormentes more certaine then Oracles, I will not desyre to be saued from them in tryall of the truth. There is an olde vsage that such as be put to aunswere vpon lyfe and death, are wont to bring theyr parentes & kinfolkes befoze you. Two brothers of late haue I lost: my father neyther can I bring fourth nor dare call for, because he is accused of this treasō lyke wyse. Is it a smal thing for him that was the father of many children, and hauing but one sonne left in whom to take pleasure, not onely to lose him, but also to lose his owne life with him: Therfore my most deare father shalt thou dye for me, & w me: it is I the take thy life fro thee. It is I the end thine old daies. why didst thou beget me unhappy wretch in hatred

hatred of the Goddes & to take suche fruite by me, as is
 prepared for thee. I am in doubt whether my youth be
 more vnhappy, or thy age. For I in the very fioure of
 myne yeres am wedded by, and the executioner shal be-
 treaue thee thy lyfe: whiche if fortune would haue suffe-
 red to continue, yet nature wuld haue asked it or it had
 bene long. The remembraunce of my father doth put
 me in mynde how loth and timerous I ought to haue
 bene to the report of tales. For whē my father was en-
 fourmed that Philip the Philician had prepared pay-
 son for Alexander, he wrote a letter to warne the kyng
 that he should not receiue the medicine, which his Phi-
 sician had prepared: was my father beleued & was bys
 letter of any auctoritie? I my selfe when I haue repor-
 ted suche thynges as I heard, how often haue I bene
 shaken of with a checke for my light beliefe? So that
 when we tell thinges we are hated, and when we holde
 our peace we are suspected: what woulde you haue vs
 do? Then one of the company that stood by, cryed out,
 that none ought to be traytours to them which put thē
 in trust. Thou sayest well (quod Philotas) who so euer
 thou art. And therfore if I haue done treasō, I require
 no respyte of my payne. And here will I make an ende
 of speaking, because my last woordes seeme tedious to
 your eares. As he was speakyng these woordes his ke-
 pers led him away. There was emōges the capitaines
 one Belon, a hardy man, but very rude of al honest ma-
 ner & ciuilitie, who being an olde souldiour, was pro-
 moted frō lowe estate, to the roume of a capitaine. This
 Belon presumyng vpon a foolish audacitie (when all o-
 thers had done) began to tell thē, that when dyuers had
 taken by their lodgings in the campe, howe they were
 thrust out by the seruauntes of Philotas, which would
 lay

Belon's ends
 dence.

lay theyr baggage, where other men were placed before: and how all the streates were full of his wagons, laden with golde and siluer. He added further that Philotas would suffer none to lodge neare him, but alwayes appointed certayn to wayte whiles he slept, which should boide al men aloufe, to the intent he should not be disquieted with any noyse: not so much for wakening of him, as for his dyleasing: and howe he was so haute that he despyled the plaine men of Phrygia, & Paphlagonia, & being a Macedon bozne, would not be ashamed to heare men of hys owne nation by an interpreter. And whereas Philotas had before moued to haue þe oracle of Jupiter enquired of, he saied it was ment therby to make God a lyer, for knowlegging Alexander to be his sone: as though any man should enuy the king for that tytle whiche the Gods had geuen him. But why (quod he) dyd he not aske counsel of Jupiter before he did offend: for now he would haue vs send for an Oracle, that in the meane seasō his father which ruleth in Media, myght raise a power by, & with the money þe hath in custody assemble desperate persons to the felowshyp of hys mischief. Neuerthelesse we shall (quod he) send to Jupiter, not to enquire of any thing touching the matter, but to geue him thanks, & do him sacrifice, for the preservation of so good a king. Then al the company was moued, and emonges the kinges household there began a crye that the traytour shoulde be rente in peeces. Whiche thyng Philotas (who feared more greuous punishment) was content to heare. The king returning into the pzeale dyfferred the counsell tyll the next daye, for to comynge Philotas eyther to prison there to be racked, or els in the meane season to get further knowledge of thynges. And albeit it drew towardes night,

nyght, yet commaunded he his counsell to be called to-
 gether. Some of them thought it best Philotas should
 be stoned to death after the Macedons lawes. Ephes-
 tion, Craterus, & Cenus, determined to haue the trouth
 tryed by tormentes, and then they which counseled the
 contrary, turned to theyr opinion. Therfore when the
 counsel was broken bp: Ephestion, with Craterus and
 Cenus arose to take Philotas to the examination. The
 king called Craterus vnto him, and commaūdyng the
 rest to auoide, had secret cōmunication with him in the
 innermost part of his lodgyng, the effecte wherof came
 not to anye mans knowlege: And there taried tyll the
 night was farre passed, to heare the d of the examinatio.
 The executioners set fourth al sortes of cruel tormentes
 in the sight of Philotas, who of his own mind sayd vn- Philotas
 to them. Why differre you to kill such one as hath con- racked,
 fessed hymselfe the kinges enemy and a traytour: what
 needeth moze examination: It was myne intent, it
 was my will. Craterus mynde was, that whatsoe-
 uer was confessed befoze, shoulde be confessed by Phi-
 lotas agayne vpon the racke. Whiche whyles he was
 taken vp, his eyes bounden, and spoyled of his clothes,
 cryed out vpon the lawe of nature, and the Goddes of
 the countrey. But al was in vaine to theyr deafe eares.
 finally as a condemned man, he was torne with most
 extreme tormentes by his enemies, that wrong him soze
 for the kynges pleasure. And notwithstanding that,
 bothe fyre and scourges were mynystred vnto hym,
 moze to payne him, then for anye examinations sake:
 yet he had poure of himselfe to restrayne both from spea-
 king and groning. But after that his body beganne to
 be bo'ne with strypes, and that he could not abyde the
 scourges whiche pearced vnto the bare bones: Then
 he

The confes-
sion of Philo-
tous.

he promised if they would torment hym no more, he would cōfesse what soeuer they should require to know. But first he would haue them sweare by the lyfe of Alexander that they shoulde cōfesse theyr tormentes, and set the racke asyde. The which thing obteyned, he sated to Craterus: Tell me what ye will haue me to confesse. Therat Craterus was dyspleased, thinkyng by those wordes that he had mocked him, and caused his tormentes to be renued. Then Philotas besought hym to haue a tyme of respite whyles he might take his breath, and then he would vtter all that euer he knew. In the meane season, the chief of the men at armes, and especially such as were neare to Parmenio in anye degree of kintred, after that the same had bruted þ̄ Philotas was tormented, fearing the Macedons law (wherin it was ordeined that the kinsfolke of such as had done treason against the king, should be put to death with the traytors:) Some slew the selues, some fled into wilde mountaines, and waste wildernesses, & great dreade & feare fell thzough all the host, vntyll such tyme as the king hauing knowlege of that vproze, made proclamation þ̄ he would pardon the rigour of þ̄ law to the kinsfolke of the traytours. But in conclusion Philotas made this confession, whether it were to deliuer him selfe out of payne by accusing himselfe falsely or not, it is doubted: seeyng it is cōmonly seene, þ̄ both such as truly cōfesse, & falsely denye, come all to one ende. You are not ignoraunt (qđ he) how familer my father was with Egilocus. I meane the same that was slayne in the field: he was the cause of all our mischiese. For when the king tooke vpo him the tytle of Jupiters sonne, he dyssayned therat. Shall we knowlege him (qđ he to be our king, that taketh scozne that Philip was his father: we are all vn-
done

done if we can suffer this. He dothe not onely despise men, but & Gods also, which wil be reputed a God. We haue lost Alexander, we haue lost our kyng. We are fallen to presumption, neither tolerable to the Gods with whom he cōpareth, neither to men whom he despiseth. Haue we with our bloud made him a God, which despieth vs: whych dysdayneth to be in the numbze of men? Trust me & we also if we be men, shall be adopted likewise of the Gods. Who hath reuēged the deathes of Alexander his great grandfather, or of Archilaus or Berdicas? But this man (quod he) hath forgeuē them that slew hys father. These were the wordes that Egilocus spake about supper time, and on the morowe earlye my father sent for me, who was heauy, and saue me sadde, for we both had heard that which made vs out of quiet. Therefoze to proue whether he babled those wordes through excelle of wine, or of an aduised purpose cōcētued befoze, we thought good to sende for hym, & sekynge occasyon of & same cōmunicatiō, he of his owne mynde sayed further: that if we durst vndertake the aduenture he would not shyynke from vs, or if our hartes serued not, he would kepe our counsayle. Yet so longe as Darius was liuyng, my father thought all the matter out of tyme, because the death of Alexander should be to the auayle of our enemies, and not of our selues. But Darius once ridde out of the waye, then he that could destroy the kyng, should obtayne the empire of Asia and all the orient for hys reward: whiche counsayle beyng approued, saythe and trouth was geuen therupon: but concerning Dimnus I know nothing. When he had confessed all thys matter, I perceyue (quod he) that it dothe not auayle me that I am bitterly gylles of thys treason. Then they reuēd hys tormentes againe, and

The seconde
confession of
Philotas

so beate hys face and hys eyes wyth the troncheons of
there speares, vntyl they enforced hym, not onely to cō-
fesse of himselfe, but to also to shew the circumstaunces
of the whole treason pꝛepꝛsed. Beccause (quod he) it se-
med þ the kyng would sojourne longe among the Bac-
triās, I was afrayed leaſt my father that had so greate
a power in his handes, and the keeping of so much trea-
sure, (beyng .lxx. yere of age) shoulde happe to die in the
meane seasō, & the being disarmed of so great a strength,
shoulde not get oportunitie to slea the kyng. Where-
fore I hastened the matter, whyles the pray was in hand.
Thus discouered he the conspiracye, wherof if they be-
leued his father to be aucthour (he saied) for his triall he
refused not to be tormented agayne, thought it were to
greuous for him to endure. The officers then whispe-
ryng together, thought the examination to be sufficy-
ent, & returned ther wythall to the kyng, whych on the
morrow caused al the cōfessō there to be opely recyted
before Philotas: whō he caused to be ledde into þ place
bicause he was not able to go, & there where he cōfessed
all the matter agayne. Then Demetrius was brought
fourth, whiche was couēted the greatest doer in this cō-
spiracye next to Philotas. But he with great protesta-
cion, and incredible stournes both of hart and counte-
naunce, denied þ he euer intended any euyl against the
kyng, & for hys triall desired to be tormented. The Phi-
lotas castyng his eyes about, spied one Calis standing
by, and made a signe to hym to draw nere. Who beyng
abashed, and refusing to come forwarde: Wylt thou
(quod he) suffer Demetrius to lye, & me to bee streyned
agayne? With those wordes Calis became speechles, &
chaūged colour. The the Macedons began to suspect
that he would accuse innocentes, be cause the same Cal-
lis

Demetrius

Calis.

lis was neither named by Nicomachus, nor by Philotas hym selfe in hys tormentes. But finally Philotas befoze the kinges officers standing therabout, confessed that all the treason was cōspired by hym selfe and Demetrius. Wherfoze as many as were appeached by Nicomachus vpon a token geuen, were stoned to deathe accordyng to the Macedons lawe. Thus was Alexander deliuered from great peril, not onely of hys life but also of hys surety. For Parmenio and Philotas beyng of such power, if they had not opely bene found culpable, coulde not haue bene condēpned without the great grudge of the army. So long therfoze as Philotas denied the thing, the matter seamed doubtfull, and many men thought him cruellye handeled. But after he had confessed the circumstances: no man, not so much as his neare frendes toke any pitye.

of hym.

(.:.)

15.11.

Philotas
put to death

The seventh booke

of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.



Like as the men of warre thought Philotas
iustly put to death, hys offence beyng freshe in
memorie: even so after he was gone, who they
befoze hated, their enuye was turned to pitie.
The noblenes of the young man moued them muche:
so did the remembzaunce of the olde yerres and desolation
of hys father. He was the first that made the way open
foz Alexander into Asia, alwaies partaker of hys pe-
rils, as he whych in y warres was euer capitaine of his
baward, chief counsaile wyth the kyng his father, and
so trusty to Alexander himselfe, y in oppressing of At-
talus hys enemye, he wold vse none other mans seruice.
The remembzaunce of these thinges was ripe amonge
all the souldiers, & sedicious wordes came to the kinges
eares, who being litle moued therewith, did wisely with
trauaile auoide the euil occasiōs comming of idlenes.
Wherfore he made it to be proclaymed that all men
should bee in readines befoze the court gate, where they
beinge once assēbled, he came fourth to speake vnto thē.
And as it was befoze deuised, required the band of the
Agrians to brynge fourth one Alexander Lyncestes,
which lōg befoze Philotas had cōspired y kinges death.
This man being accused of two witneses (as befoze is
sated) had remained in prisō. iiii. yerres together. Against
whome it was proued that he was of counsaile wyth
Pausanias in the killinge of kinge Philip. But be-
cause he saluted fyrst Alexander by the name of Kyng,
hys

Alexander
Lyncestes.

hys punishment was differred, rather then hys offence
 forgeuen. For at the intercession of Antipater his father
 in lawe, the king had respited hys iust indignacyon for
 the time. But the old festred soze brake out agayne, and
 the cōsideration of hys peril p̄sent, renued the remem-
 braunce of his daunger passed. Therfore when he was
 brought fourth of prison, and commaūded to saye for him-
 selfe, albeit he had.iii. yeres leasure to deuise hys an-
 swere, yet stammeringe and tremblyng could bring
 fourth but litle of that which he purposed to saye. And
 finally, both hys hart & his memozy failed hym. Where-
 fore there was none that doubted, but that his fearful-
 nes was a token of a gylty conscience, and no default
 of memozy, so that whyles he was staggeryng and hac-
 kinge in hys tale, they p̄ code next thrust hym through
 with their pikes: whose body conueyed out of the place,
 the kyng commaūded Amintas and Symmannas
 to be brought fourth: for Balemō their yongest brother
 after he had knowledge of Philotas tozment, fledde a-
 way. Of al Philotas frendes, these.ii. were most deare
 vnto him, & throughe hys commendation, aduaūced to
 high & honozable offices. The kyng remembryng with
 what earnestnes and labour Philotas had brought the
 into his fauour, doubted not but they were priuy to this
 last conspiracie. Whereupon he declared to the multi-
 tude, that he had occasion of suspicion against those mē
 long ago by hys mothers letters, whereby he had war-
 nyng to beware of them, & that now fearing the sequele
 of woꝛser inconueniencies had made them sure, enfor-
 ced therunto by apparant p̄sumptious. First he sayed
 the daye before Philotas treason came to lyght, it was
 well knownen that they had much conference wyth hym
 in secrete: and also their brother whiche fledde awaye.

R.iii.

when

Amintas &
 Symmannas
 brought to
 iugement

Alexanders
 accusation a-
 gainst them

when Philotas was on þe racke, he had declared by the
 absenting of him self þe cause of his flyng. He shewed al
 so þe of late, contrary to their accustomed maner of wat-
 ting, without any cause mouing thē therunto, but onely
 by p̄ctēce of diligēce pressed next about the king of al o-
 ther: wherat maruailynge þe they wold furnysh a robome
 wherunto they were not appointed, became so in doubt
 of their clustering together, þe he returned into þe traine
 of þe gentlemen that folowed hym. He declared besydes
 that when Antiphanes clarke of the stable, the day be-
 fore Philotas treason came to lygth, accordyng to hys
 accustomed maner, gaue knowelege to Amintas that
 he should deliuer of hys horse to suche as had lost theyr
 owne: He proudeleye answered agayne, that except he
 woulde contente him selfe, he shoulde knowe shortlye
 what maner of man he was. Which violence of tongue
 and rashenes of wordes bulked out (quod he) was no-
 thinge els but a declaratyon and token of hys trayte-
 rous harte. These thinges beyng true, (he sayed) they
 had no lesse deserued then Philotas, and if they were
 otherwise, he desired they myght aunswere vnto the
 poyntes. Therupon Antiphanes was brought in to
 geue euidence of the horse not deliuered, and of hys
 proude aunswere geuen with threatenynge. When A-
 mintas had gotten libertie to speake, he desired of the
 king þe whiles they answered for thē selues, their bādes
 might be losed: which thing obtayned, he made suite to
 haue hys garment cast vpon him. Which Alexander not
 onely graunted, but willed also such a weapō to be deli-
 uered to hys hādes, as other esquires vled. Whē he had
 receiued the same, he eschued a litle the place where the
 corps of Lincestes laye, & sayed in thys wise: Whatso-
 euer shall become of vs (sir kynge) we must thynke if
 our

Antiphanes

Answers
 of Amintas.

our chaunce be good, & same to procede of your fauour,
 and if it be euyl, we must iudge the fault to be in our for-
 tune, soynge you suffer vs to pleade our cause without
 preiudice, setting our mindes free, and our bodyes at
 large, wyth the same apparaile restozed vs, wherin we
 were wont to folow you. Our cause is such that we can-
 not doubt of it, and we are passed the feare of fortune.
 Therfore with your fauour I will aunswere first those
 poyntes wherwith you charged vs laste. We knowe
 moste assuredlye that we bee innocente of any kinde of
 wordes spoken to the derogation of your maiestie: And
 durst affirme that you had ouercome all enuye of men,
 but that peraduenture you woulde thinke that I went
 about wyth fayre wordes to excuse thinges & haue bene
 maliciously spoken. Though it were so & wordes some-
 time did escape vs, either when we were fainte, or wea-
 ried in marching, hasarding our selues in fightynge, or
 els when we were sicke, or dressinge of our woundes:
 our honest doings otherwile do deserue, that ye should
 rather impute the same to & time, the to any euil dyspo-
 sition in vs: for it is communely sene where any thing
 chaunceth amisse, all menne in maner become guiltye of
 thys fault. We do violence sometyme to our owne bo-
 dyes whiche we hate not. Yea, the commynge of the fa-
 thers vnto the children sometyme is both vngreatfull,
 and also hatefull. But on the other syde, when we re-
 ceyue rewardes or gyftes, or whē we come laden homie
 with spoyle, who can then staye vs: who can restreyn
 oure chearefulness: or who can resyst our courage in
 fightynge: The nature of man is neither to kepe mea-
 sure in displeasure, nor in gladnesse. Thus are we dis-
 uen by the violence of affection, sometyme wyth pitye,
 and sometyme with furye, as our present desire both go-

uern vs. One while we are in mid to passe through India as far as the Ocean sea, & by & by the memory of our wiues, childre, and countrey call vs backe againe, and dothe alter our purpose. But as sone as the trumpet bloweth, streight al these imaginacions do passe away, and euery man then runneth into hys araye, reuenging vpon their enemies the displeasures conceyued within theyr lodgynges. I woulde Philotas had offended but onely in wordes: I woulde passe ouer that and returne to the other pointe, wherof we be accused. The frendshyppe that was betwixte Philotas and vs, I wyll not onely not denye, but also confesse that we did couet the same, and receiued therby great commoditye. Do you marueile that we did honour and esteeme the sonne of Parmenio, whom you did chole to be next about your person, and did aduance aboue all other your frendes? You your selfe (if it please you to heare the trueth) are the cause of thys our peryll. What other thinge moued vs to couet Philotas frendshyp, then that we desired to please you. By hys preferment we were aduanced to the degree of your fauour. He stode in suche case wyth you that it behoued vs as well to sue for his beneuolence, as to feare to get his displeasure. Haue not we swozned that we shoulde repute your enemies our enemies: and honoure your frendes as oure owne? Should we haue bene founde disobedient in this bonde of our duty: and specially towards him, whom ye dyd preferre aboue al men? If this be a faulte, ye haue fewe innocentes, or surely none at all. All men desired to bee Philotas frendes: but all that did couet coulde not bee accepted. So if ye wyll make no difference betwene the parteners of hys treason, and suche as were his frendes: then so many be offenders as would haue bene

bene his frendes. What presumptiō haue you now that we should offend? I thinke because yesterdaie Philotas talked with vs familiarly alone. Therof I can not excuse my selfe, if yesterdaie I chaūged any thing of mine accustomed maner & liuyng. But if so be we bled euery day to do the lyke, then custome must nedes make it to be none offence. But it may be saied the hozses were not deliuered to Antiphanes: and the daye befoze Philotas was detected, this matter was betwene Antiphanes & me. If that be a iust cause of suspicion that I woulde not then deliuer my hozses, there shall arysle a doubtful plee betwene the denyer and the demaunder, sayyng that his cause is better that kepeth styl his owne, then his that requireth another mans. I had ten hozses of the whiche Antiphanes had distributed. vñ. to such as hadde lost theyr owne: so there remayned onely two, whiche when he would proude, and wrongfully haue taken away, I was enforced to keepe them styl, except I woulde haue serued on foote. I cannot denye but this communication was had betwene a man of a free stomake & a person of a vyle nature, whiche could do no maner seruice, but take away mens hozses, & geue the to other. What mischief is this, & at one time I must purge my selfe both to the king and to Antiphanes. But to the other poynt that your mother dyd wyte to you of vs, as of your enemies: I would god she had moze wisely bene careful of her sonnes sauēguard, then doubtfully ymagined such fayned figures. Why doth she not also expresse the cause of her feare? Besides she sheweth not her aucthour, nor yet signifieth one worde wherby she was moued to wryte to you such letters of feare. A wretched estate of mine, whiche standeth in lesse hāsarde to hold my peace then to speake. Yet howsoeuer the mat-
ter

ter shall passe: I had rather myne excuse shoulde dys-
please you, then my cause. If you remember when ye
sent me to fetch newe souldiours out of Macedon, euen
thē ye shewed me that in your mothers house there lur-
ked many lusty young gētlemen: wherfore ye cōmaun-
ded me that in executing your cōmissiōn, I shoulde spare
none, but bring with me perforce all such as refused the
warres. Whiche thing I dyd, and fulfilled your will
therin more largelye then was expedient for me. For I
brought vnto you Gorgeas, Hecateus, and Gorgata,
whiche nowe minister vnto you ryght acceptable ser-
uice. What creature therfore is more wretched then I,
whiche if I had not fulfilled your will, shoulde rightfull-
ly haue suffered, and now perishe because I obeyed you.
For truelye there was none other cause that moued
your mother to persecute vs, then that we preferred
your vtilitie before a womans fauour. I brought vnto
you of Macedons. vi. M. footemen. and. vii. hundred
horsesmen, of the whiche the more part would not haue
folowed me, if I had released suche as woulde not
haue come. It is reason therfore, that in as muche as
your mother is dyspleased with vs for your cause, that
ye mitigate, her in whose dyspleasure ye haue put vs.
Whyles Amintas was thus pleadyng his cause, they
had persued his brother Palemon (of whom we spake
before) came leading hym bounde into the place. Then
the rage of the people coulde scarcely be pacified, but as
the manner was in suche cases, they would haue stoned
Palemon to death. Yet he boldlye spake to them and
sayed. I desyer no fauour for my selfe, so that my flyeng
be not hurtfull to the innocencie of my brethren, whome
if ye cannot thynke cleare, let the fault be layed to me,
For their matter appeareth the better, because I which

Palemon.

fled.

fled away am suspected. As soone as he had spokē these wordes, the whole assēblie wer inclined in his fauour, and resolved to teares, beyng so sodainlye so contraiye turned, that nowe they were all conuerted on his part, whiche a litle before were all agaynst hym. He was in the pꝛyme floure of his youth, and thꝛough other mens feare fled away emonges those horsemen, whiche were amased at Philotas toꝛmentes. His company had left him behinde, and whiles he was in doubte whether he might turne againe, oꝛ flye further foꝛwardes, was taken by them whiche pursued after hym. He then began to weepe, and beate hym selfe about the face: not so much lamentyng his owne chaunce, as that case of his bzethzen beyng in daunger foꝛ his cause, with whiche his behanour he moued the kyng and all the company there pꝛesent. Onelye his bzother Minintas coulde not be pacified, but beheld him with a fierce countenaunce, & saied: O madde creature, then oughtest thou to haue wept, when thou dyddest put thy spurres to thy horse, as a traytoure to thy bzethzen, and a companion of traytours. Thou wretche, whether and from whence dyddest thou flye? Thou hast nowe brought to passe, that bothe I am thought woꝛthy of death, and also must become an accuser of other. Palemon thereupon confessed hym selfe to haue offended in that point, but moze greuoulye agaynst his bzethzen, then toꝛwardes him self. Then the multitude could not abstain from weeping & shewing: beyng tokens wherby men in an assēblie are woont to declare theyꝝ affections: and with one consent they cryed all to the kyng with one voyce, that he should spare innocentes, & men of seruice: his frendes also vpon that occasion did rise, & with weppynꝝ eyes required the kyng of mercye. Then he
com=

Amintas
pardoned.

Polidamas.

Alexanders
wordes to
Polidamas.

commaunded silence, and saied: By myne owne iudge-
ment I do pardon bothe you Amintas, and your bre-
thren, desyrous that ye shoulde be moze myndfull of my
benefite, then of your owne icopardye. Come in fa-
uour agayne with me with that fidelitie I am reconci-
led vnto you. Except those thinges which wer brought
in euidence had bene debated and tryed to the vtter-
most, my dissimulation myght haue bene suspected in
thys matter. Better it is therfore to be cleared, then to
remaine in ielousye, and thinke that no man can be ac-
quyted, except he be fyrst detected. Thou Amintas par-
don thy brother, and let that be a token of thy heart re-
conciled vnto me. This done, the kyng dismyssed the as-
semble and sent for Polidamas, whome of al mē Dar-
menio loued best, accustomed alwayes to stande next
him in battayle. And though the cleuenes of his consci-
ence did assure him to come boldlye: yet after he was
commaunded to bring fourth his brethren beyng but
young, and vnknowen to the king, his confidence was
turned into feare, and began to doubte, ymagining in
his mynde rather suche thinges as myght hurt hym,
then by what meanes he was thus cyrcumuented. In
the meane season the garde whiche had commaun-
dement tharunto, brought fourth his brethren. When
the kyng sawe Polidamas pale for feare, he called
hym neare, and commaundyng all men apart, sayed
vnto hym: Through Darmenio his treason, we were
all in daunger, but chieflie I and thou, whome vnder
colour of frendshipp, he deceyued most: In the pursu-
yng and punysshment of whome, see howe muche I
trust thy fidelitie: for I am determined to vse thee as
a minister therin, and whyles thou goest about it, thy
brethren shalbe thy pledges. Thou shalt go into Media
and

and beare my letters to my officers, wzitten with mine owne hand. It is necessary hast be made, that the swiftnes of the same may be pzeuented. I will that ye come thether in the night, and that the tenour of my wytyng be executed the daye after. Ye shal cary letters likewise to Parmenio, one from me, and another wzitten in the name of Philotas. I haue his signet in my custody. So that when Parmenio shall see bothe you, and the letter sealed with his sonnes ryng, he wil be without any suspicion. Polidamas beyng thus deliuered of feare, promised his diligence a great deale moze earnestlye, then he was required. When Alexander sawe hys promptnes in the matter, both commended his good will, and rewarded him accordingly. And Polidamas chaunged his owne apparell, and tooke other after the Araby fashion, with two mē of the same couñtre to be his guides, for whose truth theyr wiues and children were pledges in the meane season. And so they passed on Camels thorough such places as were desert for lacke of moysture, and within xi. Dayes came to theyr iourneyes ende, before any knew of their comming. Polidamas then toke againe his Macedons apparell, and in the dead of the nyght, came into Cleanders lodgynge, whiche had the chief auctoritie there, next vnto Parmenio. When Cleander by his letters vnderstoode the kynges pleasure, Polidamas hauing moze letters to deliuer lyke wyse to others, agreed by the spyng of the daye to goe altogether vnto Parmenio. As they were goyng, tydynges came to Parmenio of Polidamas arriuall, who reioysyng both for the comming of his frende, and for the desyre he had to knowe of the kynges estate, (the rather because he had receyued no letter from him a long space) commaunded Polidamas to be soughte out.

out. The houses of that countrey haue large backes-
 sydes, and pleasaunt orchardes full of trees: beyng the
 chiefe delyght of Prynces, and great lordes there.
 The capitaines whiche had receyued commaundement
 by the kynges letters to kill hym, came to Parmenio,
 walking vnder the shadowe of the trees, beyng agreed
 emonges them selues to execute the thyng, when he
 should begyne to reade his letters. So soone as Par-
 menio had spied Polidamas comming afaire of, with
 a semblaunt of ioye (as it appeared by his countenance)
 ranne to embrace hym, and after salutation geuen eche
 to other, deliuered the kynges letter. As he was vnclo-
 sing it, he demaunded of Polidamas what the kyng in-
 tended to do: you shall knowe that (quod he) by the con-
 tentes of your letters. Whiche when he had read: I per-
 ceive (quod Parmenio) that the kyng purposeth a voy-
 age agaynst the Trochians: surelye he is a paynfull
 prynce and neuer in rest. But nowe after so muche glo-
 ry wonne, it were tyme for him to take hys ease, & haue
 consideration of his health and sauegarde. And then
 he red the other letter written in the name of Philo-
 tas, wherat he was ioyfull as appeared by hys coun-
 tenance. With that Cleander stabbed hym with his
 sword into the side, & after striking him ouer the throte,
 the residue thrust him in as he lay dyeng. But Parme-
 nio hys me which stood neare at hand, & saw the mur-
 der, wherof they knew not the cause, ran into the cape,
 & with theyr troublous tydings, set all the souldiers in
 a roze. They ran streyght to harnes, & clustring toge-
 ther about the place where the murder was done, made
 an exclamation, that except Polidamas & the other do-
 ers of that dede were deliuered to their handes, they
 would ouerthrow þ wall, & make sacrifice to theyr dead

Parmenio
 slayne.

cap

capitaine with the bloud of his offenders. Cleander willed the chief of the to be let in, & recited the kynges letters, wherein was conteined the treason of Parmenio intended agaynst him, with a request to them to see it reuenged. Then immediatly vpon the kynges pleasure knownen, the sedition was appeased, but the grudge was not rid out of theyr heartes. The most part departed, sauyng a few, whiche required instantlye that at the least they might be suffered to bury the body. It was denyed the long by reason of Cleander, who dreadded the kynges displeasure: but because they beganne to waite more earnest, intending to auoyde matter of sedition, he cut off the head whiche he sent to the kyng and left them the body to burye. This was the ende of Parmenio, a noble man both in warre and peace: manye thynges had he done valiantly without the king: but the king without him did neuer anye thing worthy prayse. He serued and satisfied in all a fayres a king most happy and fortunate: and being .lxx. yeares of age, executed the office of a capitaine as liuely as though he had bene young in yeares, and pretermitted not often times the partes of a comon souldiour. He was quicke in counsell, doubte of deede, welbeloued of al princes, but most deare to the common sorte of souldiours. Yet whether those thynges dyd moue hym to couet to be king, or els caused him to be suspected therof, it is yet doubted. For whether the wordes that Philotas spake, when he was ouercome with the paynes in his last tormentes were true or false, or els that he sought an ende of his payne by accusing him selfe falsely, it was muche doubtfull, seeing there was nothyng proued at such tyme as the matter was most freshe in memory. Suche as Alexander perceiued to grudge at the death of Philotas, were

scpe.

Leonidas.

seperated from the rest of the armye, and put into one Cohort vnder Leonidas theyr Capitaine, whiche in tymes past was of neare familiaritie with Parmenio: The king bare priuie displeasure agaynst the, & therfore willyng to proue the dysposition of euery mā, gaue warning thzoughout the army, that all such as woulde wypte into Macedonia, and haue theyr letters suetly conueyed, should bzing them to be caried with suche as he would send. Wherupon euery man did wryte frankly to their frēdes, such thinges as were in theyr hartes. Some shewed themselves to be offended with the long warres: & some seemed to be well pleased. But al theyr letters were intercepted, aswell of such as commended the king, as of those þ̄ grudged at his doynges. Wherfore he willed such as by theyr letters disclosed themselves to be wery of the trauayle of the warres, for theyr reproche to be put in a band apart from the rest. Wherby he both gaue them occasion to shew theyr hardines, and besides remoued the libertie of their tongues fro the credulous eares of the rest. Whiche ralse deuise, as al other thinges, turned to þ̄ setting fourth of the kinges felicitie. For in all extremities they shewed themselves the readiest and the most forwarde: and whyles they coueted to redeme theyr reproche, theyr valiaunt doynges could not be hidde in so small a numbze seperate by themselves. These thinges being ordered after this manner, he appoynted a ruler ouer the Arians, and proclaymed his iourney against the Arasprians: which, by chaūging of theyr name, were called Euergitans, since þ̄ time that they releued Cyrus army with lodging and victuals being afflicted with cold & penury. It was the fist day before he entred into theyr countrey, where he vnderstoode þ̄ Sattibarzanes which take Bessus part

Arians.

Euergitans.

was

was with a power of horsemen entred agayne emōges
 the Arians. He sent agaynst hym Caranus and Ery-
 gius, and in theyr ayde Artabalus, and Andromachus
 wyth syre thousand Greeke footemen, and syre hundred
 horsemen. Alexander continued .lx. dayes in settynge
 orde emonges the Euergitans: vpon whome he besto-
 wed a greate summe of money, for the notable fidelitie
 they shewed towardes Cyrus: and leuing Amenides to
 be their gouernour, (who was Darius secretarpe), he
 wente to subdue the Arachosians, which border vpon
 the sea of Ponte. The men of warre that were vnder
 Parmenio his rule, came then to Alexander, beinge syre
 thousand Macedons, with two hundred of the nobilitie,
 v. M. Greeke footemen, and two hundred horsemen,
 which were the chiefeest force of all his power. To these
 Arachosians, Mennon was appointed lieutenaunte
 wyth .iiii. thousand footemen, and .vi. C. horsemen. Al-
 lexander from there entred wyth his army into a coun-
 trey not known to such as bordered vpon it: for thinha-
 bitauntes would not haue conuersation with any other
 people. They were called Paramissadās, being a rusti-
 call kynd of men, and most rude emonges all the barba-
 rous nations: the hardnes of the countrey had so in-
 durated their disposiciōs. They lye most towardes the
 cold north pole, ioyninge with the Bactrians vpon the
 west, and bendinge towardes the Indian sea vpon the
 south. They vse to build their houses of bricke, and be-
 cause the lande is ful of barreyne mountaynes & boyde
 of timbre they make theyr whole houses of the same.
 Which beginninge broade beneth, growyng euer more
 narrow towardes the top, ende like the holes of a thyp,
 wheras y holes be made aboue to receiue lpght. Such
 of theyr bynes and trees that bynge fourthe fruite, as

Amenides

Arachosians

Mennon

Paramissa-
dang.

they wylł pzeſerue from the violence of the colde, they couer the with earth duringe the winter ſeaſon, & when the ſnowe is vaniſhed away, they reſtoze them agayne to the ayer and to the ſunne. The earth was there couered with ſuch ſnow froſen ſo harde, that there remained no ſygne of any bird or beaſt within the countrey. The ayze beſydes was ſo darke, that litle light appeared: but the earth couered as it were with a dimme ſhadowe, mē could ſcarſly diſcerne thynges very neare at hand. The army broughte into this countreie deſtitute of all cultiuacyon of man, ſuffered al the diſcomodities and miſeryes that myghte bee endured, both of hūgre, colde, werynes, and dyſpayze. There were manye of them that dyed for colde: and the ſnowe deſtroyed their fecke: but ſpecially it periſhed manye mennes ſyghte.

When they were weryed and not able to trauayle anye further, they layed them ſelues downe vpon the froſen ſnowe, and hauynge once leſt the mocyon of theyr bodies, whiche ſturred in them theyr naturall heate, they were ſtreyghte wayes ſo nummed for colde, that they could not ryle againe, tyll they were liſt vp by theyr companions. And remedy was there none in thys matter, but to compel them to go forwardes: for the by ſturryng of them ſelues theyr naturall heate was reuiued, and they recoucted agayne ſome ſtrength. Suche as recovered the cotages wherin the countrey men dwelled, were verye well reſreſhed. But the darkenes was ſo greate, that the houſes could not be otherwyſe diſcerned then by the ſmoke. The inhabitants that had neuer ſcene ſtraungers befoze emonges theym, when they behelde the armed men commynge ſodaynly vpon them, were amaſed for feare, and broughte fourth what ſoeuer they had, to ſaue their bodies from violence. Alexā-

der went on his fete emonges his men, raising such as were lying, & releuing suche as he sawe afflicted wyth the cold, with his own clothes. He was seene, one while in the forwarde, another while in the middest, and some tyme in the reereward to the great trauayle of his body. At length they came to places better manured, where he refreshed hys army with plenty of victuals, & there remained in campe til such tyme as all that were left behynde, came vnto theyr fellowes. Then he went forwarde wyth his army to the mount Caucasus, whych diuideth all Asia into two partes. For on the one syde it stretcheth towarde the sea of Cilicia, and on the other side to the Caspian sea, to the riuer of Araxes, and the desertes of Scythia. To this mounte Caucasus, there ioyneeth another mountaine, called Taurus, next vnto it in bignes, whiche riseth from Cappadocia and passing by Cilicia, closeth with the mountaines of Armeny. Out of these mountaines ioining thus together as it were in one continual rydge, all the ryuers of Asia do descende. Some of them runninge into the red sea, some into the Caspian, and Hircanian sea, & other into the Sea of Ponto. In .xvii. dayes Alexander wyth his army passed the mounte Caucasus, where in a rocke that is .x. furlonges in compasse, and foure in heighte, the antiquytie sayned that Prometheus laye bound. At the fote of this mountaine Alexander chose out a place to build a citee, wherin he placed .vii. thousand of the most auncient Macedons, and suche other besydes, whose seruice he woulde not vse anye moze in the warres, and called the same Alexandria. But Belus that was put in feare wyth Alexanders celeritye, made sacrifice vnto the Goddes of hys countrey, and accordinge to the custome of those nacyns, consulted

Bessus.
wordes

wyth hys frendes and hys capitaynes, for the mayntenaunce of the warres beyng at meate. And when they were wel charged with wine, they extolled greatly their owne power, despisinge the rashnes of their enemyes, and their smale numbze. But chiefly Bessus was most arrogant in hys wordes, who puffed vp wyth pryde by reason of the kyngdome he had newly gotten by treason, and not maister of hys wittes, beganne to declare, howe that Darius by hys folly had encreased his enemies same, who woulde nedes fyghte wyth them in the streightes of Cilicia, when by retirynge backe he might haue drawen them (befoze they had bene ware) into desert places, and there haue put riuers and mountaynes betwene his enemies and hym, and emorges the same so enclosed them, & they could by no possibilitie haue fled away, and much lesse make any resistance. Wherefoze (he sayed) he was become of opinion to retire backe amonges the Sogdians, whereas the riuer of Oxus should be as a wall betwixt hym and his enemyes, vntill suche tyme as he myght assemble a strong power of the nacyons there about: knowynge verye well that the Chozasmyons, the Dahans, and Sacans, the Indians and Scythians inhabitynge beyonde the riuer of Tanais, woulde come to hys assistance: of whome there was none so litle, that any Macedon wyth the toppe of hys heade coulde reache to hys shoulders. They all in theyr dronkenness assented to hym, affirmynge that onelye to be the wysest waye. Whereupon Bessus caused the wyne to bee carped aboute plentifullye to conquer Alexander vpon drinke. There was at that feast one Cobares a Median, whiche in the Arte Magike (if it be an Arte, and not rather a dysceyte of some baine man) was moze notable by hys professyon then by hys knowlege

knowlege, but otherwyle a moderate and an honest man. He makinge a pzeamble before his tale, sayed: He was not ignorant how muche better it were to bee obedient to others counsell, then to be a counsel geuer. For such as be followers of other mens deuises, are sure to haue no worse fortune then the rest: but suche as be authors and persuaders of any matter, commonly prepare theyr owne perill, and therwyth deliuered the cup he had in his hande, and proceeded thus. The nature of man in thys respect maye be called peruers and euill, because euery one can see better in other mens matters, then in theyr own. Their counsels must nedes bee alwaies full of perturbacions, whiche take their owne aduise. For feare is impediment to some, desyre vnto other, and to many the self loue of the thyng that they haue deuised. I will not speake of pride, nor impute it vnto any man. We haue seene experience how euery one doth esteeme that thyng onely to bee best, whych he hym selfe hath inuented. The Diademe of a kyng that you weare bpō your heade is a greate burde: which if it be borne moderatly, the weyght therof wyll oppresse the bearer. It is not furye can auaille in thys case but wyle and prudent counsayle. When he had spoken those wordes, he rehearsed a prouerbe comonly bled amonges the Bactrians, whiche is that a fearefull dogge dothe bark more then byte, and that the deapest ryuers dothe runne wyth least noyse. Whych thinges I haue rehearsed, because such prudence maye appeare as remained amonges the Barbarous. As he talked after thys maner, suche as harde hym wondered to what ende hys tale woulde come. Then he beganne to shewe hys aduise, whych was more profitable to Bellus, then gratefull. Alexanders celscripte

Cobarus
wordes.

(quod he) is suche , that he is come in maner to the entrey of your courte. He can remoue hys armye before you can remoue thys table. You saye that you wyll draw your assistaunce from the riuer of Tanais, and that you wyl put riuers betwixt you and your enemies. I would know if he be not able to followe, wheresoeuer you shall flee. If the way be indifferent, it must nedes be most easie and assured to the victozer. And though you thinke feare wil make much speed, yet hope is moze swifte. It were therfore me thynkes expedient to procure the fauour of hym that is the myghtiest, and yeld your selfe vnto the stronger. How soeuer he shal accept it, your fortune is moze like to be better that way, then to remayne styll an enemy. Consyder that you possesse another mans kyngdome, and therfore ye may the better depart therewithall. For ye cannot be a iust king, till you receiue the kyngdome of hym that is able to gyue it, and take it a way. Thys is a faythfull counsell: wherfore it is not necessary to delaye the execution thereof. The horse that is of noble courage wil be governed with the shadowe of a rodde. But y dull beaste is not pricked forwarde with the spores. Bessus y was fierce of nature and well set forwarde wyth drinking, became in such a furye wyth his wordes, that he could scarcely bee holden by hys frendes from the sleynge of Cobares. for he pulled out his sworde to haue done the deede, and departed out of the feast in a great rage. But Cobares in thys stir escaped away, & came vnto Alexander. Bessus had. liii. M. Bactrians armed attending vpon him: Which so long as they iudged that by reason of the intemperatenes of the ayre in those parties, the Macedons woulde rather haue gone into Jude the into Bactria, were verie obedient at hys commaundement:

dement. But when they vnderstode that Alexander was comminge towarde them, euery one thronke awaye, and forsoke Bellus. Then he wyth a band of his familie whiche were yet faythfull vnto hym, passed the riuer of *Orus*, burning such boates as caried hym ouer, because that the same shuld not serue hys enemye in folowing him, and assembled a newe power emdges the *Sogdians*. Alexander as it hath ben saied before, passed the mount *Caucasus*: but for lacke of corne his armye was brought in maner to the extremitie of hunger. In steade of oyle they were faine to anoynt themselves wyth a iuice which they wynged out of *Sesema*: but euerye measure therof called *Amphora* was solde for .ccxl. deniers: euerye lyke measure of honie for .ccxc. and of wyne for .ccc. and yet of the same was verie lytle to bee gotten. They haue in that countrey certayne vessels called *Sirye*, whiche thynhabytautes vse to hyde so priuely, that they can not bee founde except they bee dygged for wythin the earth. The countrey men burye theyr corne after that maner, for want wherof the souldiours were faine to lyue wyth herbes, and suche fishe as they caughte in the riuers. But that kinde of foode wantynge also, they were enforced to slea their cariage beastes, and lyued wyth the flesh of them tyll they came into *Bactria*, the nature of the soyle of whiche countrey is dyuers and of sundrye kyndes. Some place is plentifull of woode and bynes, and aboundaunte of pleasaunt fruite, the grounde fatte, well watered, and full of sprynges. Those partes whiche bee most temperate are sowed wyth corne, and the rest be reserued for feedinge of beastes. But the greater part of that countrey is couered ouer wyth baraine lades, & withered vp for want of moisture, nourishinge

The description
tion of *Bactria*.

neither man, nor bringing fourth frute: But with certaine windes that come from the sea of Ponte, the sand in the plaines is blowen together in heapes, whiche seme a farre of like great hilles, wherby the accustomed wayes be so dammed, that no signe of them can appere. Therfore suche as do passe those plaines, vse to obserue the starres in the night, as they do which saile the seas, by the course of them directinge theyr iourney. The nightes for þe more parte be brighter the þe dayes: wherfore in the day tyme the countrey is wild and vnpassable, when they can neither finde any tract nor way to go in, nor make or signe whereby to passe, the starres beinge hidden by the myst. If the same wynd chaunce to come durynge the tyme that men be passing, it ouerwhelmeth them wyth lande. Where the countrey is temperate, it bringeth fourth great plenty both of men & horse: So that the Bactrians may make .xxx. M. horsemen. Bactria whiche is the heade cite of that region, standeth vnder a mountayne called Parapanisus: the riuer called Bactras runneth by the walles, wherof both the cite and the countrey take their names.

Parapanisus
Bactras

Alexander lyng there in campe, receiued aduertisemente oute of Greece, howe the Lacedemonians, and þe whole countrey of Deloponese had rebelled against him. For they had not loste the battaile at suche tyme as the messengers were dispatched that brought the newes of theyr reuolt. In the necke of thys euyl tidinges there came another present terrour, whiche was that the Scythians inhabitynge beyonde the riuer of Tanais were comynge to ayde Bessus. And at the same tyme tydynge came to hym of the battaile that Caranus and Erigius had foughte wyth the Aryans, where Satibarzanes that was newly reuolted beinge chiefe of

Caranus
Erigius.

chiefe of the countrey, seeing the battaile to remayne
equall on both sydes, ridde into the fore front, and pluck-
ked of hys helmet, forbidding any of his syde either to
cast Darte or stryke stroke, and there made a challenge
to fight hande to hande, if anye man durst come fourth
and proue his strength. Erigius capitaine to the Ma-
cedons was a man stricken in yeares, but yet not infe-
riour to any young man, eyther in stoutnes of stomake
or strength of body, who could not beare the proude ar-
rogancy of Satibarzanes, but stepped forwardes, and
plucking of hys helmet likewise, shewed his hoare he-
are. The daye is come (quod he) that I will shew either
by the victory or by my honest death, what kind of men
Alexander hath to his frendes and his souldiours: and
without more wordes made towardes his enemye. It
could not be iudged, but that both armies had stayed
theyr handes by appoyntment. For they gaue backe im-
mediatly on both sydes, to let them haue free scope, eche
party standing in expectation what shoulde become of
the challengers: for they could not but thinke themselves
partakers of theyr aduerture. Satibarzanes fyrst char-
ged his staffe, which Erigius auoyded by bending hys
head aside: but he in the myddes of his race, strake the
other with his speare through the throte, so that it came
fourth againe at his necke. Satibarzanes vpon that
stroke fell from hys horse, but yet made resystaunce
till suche tyme as Erigius plucked the speare oute of
the wounde, and thrust it agayne into hys mouth: who
to rydde hym selfe out of payne, furthered his enemyes
stroke. Then the Ariens seeing theyr capitayne slayne,
whome they had folowed rather of necessitie then of
theyr owne free willes, called to remembraunce Alex-
anders benefites, and yelded them selues to Erigius.

Alex-

The Suf-
tanes.

Alexander reioyced much of the good successe of thys matter, doubtyng greatlye the Lacedemonians: but he bare out theyr rebellion stoutlye, sayeng that they durst neuer dysclose theyr meanyng, tyll they knew he was come to the confines of India. Alexander hauyng remoued his campe, and goyng forwarde in the pursuit of Belus, Erigius mette hym, presentyng the spoyle of his enemye, as a memozye of hys vyctorye. Therupon he committed the rule of Bactria to Artabazus, where with a guarrison he left hys cariage, and with a power that was lyght to iourney, entered into the desertes of the Sufitanes, conueying his armye by nyght. In the want of water (that hath bene declared befoze) desperatio moued them to thirst befoze they had desyre to drinke. For by the space of .iiii. hundred furlonges, they found no water at all. The vapour of the sone being in the somer season dyd so burne the sande, that when it began to waxe hoate, it starched all thynges as it had bene with a continual fyre. And then the lyght somewhat obscured by a mist that rose out of the earth by the immoderat heate, caused the playnes to haue apperaunce of a maine sea. Theyr iourney in the nyght seemed tolerable, because theyr bodies were somewhat refreshed with the dewe and the colde of the morning. But when the daye came, and the heate rose, then the drought dryeng by all the natural humours: both their mouthes and their bowels were enflamed for heate. Then theyr heartes fayled, and theyr bodies faynted, being in case that they could neither stand stil, nor passe forwarde. A few that were taught by suche as knewe the countrey, had gotten water, whiche refreshed them somewhat: but as the heate encreased, so theyr desyre grewe agayne to drinke. Then was there no remedy but

but to geue emonges the souldiours all the wyne and
oyle that remayned in store. For drynke was so sweete
vnto them, that it tooke away the feare of any thyng to
come. But suche as had gulled in gredeley þ water that
they gotte, became so heauy, that they were neither ha-
ble to beate theyr armout, nor go forwarde: so that
they seemed then most happy that had gotten no water
at all: for suche as had taken of it inordinatly, were en-
forced by vomit to put vp the same agayne. As Alexan-
der carefull in this calamitie stode with hys frendes þ
were perswading of him to haue respect to him selfe, for
that he onely, and the greatnes of his heart shoulde be
relief vnto this aduersitie: There came. ii. souldiours,
which going befoze with such as had takē vp þ campe,
had founde water, & were caryeng of it in bottels vn-
to theyr sonnes, whiche were sore afflicted for want of
drynke behynde in the armye. When they saw the king,
one of them opened hys bottel, and fylling a cup that he
had, presented water to the kyng: who receyuing it at
hys hande, demaunded to whom they caried that wa-
ter: they sayed to theyr sonnes. Then he restored to hym
the cup agayne full as it was geuen hym, and sayed: I
will not drynke alone: for so litle cannot be diuyded e-
monges vs all. Make you haste therfore to carye to
your sonnes that you haue gotten with your trauayle.
But he trauayled so long, that befoze night he came
to the riuer of Orus: The more part of the armye, not
hable to folowe, for feblenes were left farre behynde: to
the intent therfore that suche as folowed after, myght
know where the campe was become, he caused a fyre to
be made in the top of an hyll, and gaue order, that whē
the baward had refreshed them selues with meate and
drynke, they shoulde fyl theyr bottels with water, and go
backe

backe with the same to relieue their felowes. The
 breath of suche as dronke intemperately closed vp, and
 they died immediatly: the nūber of whome was grea-
 ter then euer Alexander lost in anye battayle. But he
 would neyther put of harneys, restreſſe hym selfe with
 meate or drynke, nor ease his bodye: but stooode in the
 way where his army passed, not departing tyll the last
 man was come into the campe. He watched all that
 nyght, and passed it ouer in great trouble of mynd. And
 the daye that ensued brought no release of his care. For
 there were neyther boates to passe the Riuer withall,
 nor he coulde make anye brydge, seeyng there was no
 woode growing nye at hande. But at length he found
 out a deuyle, wherunto onely necessitie dyd dzyue him.
 They tooke beastes skynnes & stuffed them ful of straw,
 wherupon they layed them selues, and so swōme ouer
 the water. Suche as fyrst recovered the further syde,
 stooode in order of battayle tyll the rest were passed: by
 whiche meanes in sixe dayes he conueyed ouer hys
 whole army. Hauing thus passed ouer the riuer of Dr-
 us, hys purpose was to passe forwarde in the pursuit
 of Bellus, tyll he vnderstoode suche thynges as had
 chaūced amonges the Sullians. There was one Spi-
 tamenes, whō Bellus chiefly honoured of all his fren-
 des. But there be no benefites that can stave a man
 geuen to perfidie and falshode: whiche in hym was the
 moze tolerable, because he iudged no mischiefe to great
 for him that hath slayne his prynce. For the reuenge of
 Darius was a fayre colour to hys offence: but it is to
 be thought, that his present fortune was moze enuyed,
 then hys doying by past hated. When it was knowen
 that Alexander had passed the Riuer of Drus, Spita-
 menes dyd associat with hym in counsell of hys enter-
 prise

Spitame-
 nes conspired
 agaynst Bel-
 lus.

pylfe Dataphernes, and Catenes, whome Bessus specially trusted. They agreed to the matter moze readely then he woulde desyre them, and takyng to them, vnto young men that were strong of personage, bled thys kynde of policy. Spitamenes repayred to Bessus, and getting him alone, enfourmed hym that he had founde out how Dataphernes and Catenes had conspyred to deliuer hym alpyue into Alexanders handes, wheras (he sayed) he had pꝛeuented the, whyles they were about their purpose, hauing taken them bothe, & put them fast in prison. Bessus then thinking him selfe much bounde to him for so great a good turne, gaue hym many thankes. And for the desyre he had to be reuenged of his enemies, willed Spitamenes to bring the to his pꝛesence. He caused theyr handes to be bound behynd theyr backes, & to be brought by such as were pꝛiue to their confederacy. Whē they came in Bessus pꝛesence, he behelde the with a fell countenaunce, & rose vp to haue stricken at the. But they lest then theyr counterfeiting, & streight wayes enclosing Bessus about, bounde hym struglyng in bayne, and pulled the Dyademe from his head, tearing his garment from his backe, whiche somtyme belonged to his Dynce, whome he had slayne. When he sawe him selfe in this case, he confessed that the Goddes had ryghtfullye reuenged hys treason, and perceyued by the plague they sent hym, that bothe they fauoured Darius, and were frendes to Alexander, whose enemies euer moze pꝛeferred his victory. It is vncertayne whether the multitude would haue assysted Bessus or no: but that Spitamenes had deuised the thyng to be done by Alexanders appoyntment, wherby he put the in feare beyng yet doubtfull of mynde, and set Bessus vpon an horse, wherupon he brought him vnto Alexander.

Dataphernes.
Catenes.

Branchidans.

Milefians.

ander. He in the meane season had chose out nyne hundred, suche as by reason of theyr age were not meete for the warres, and gaue to euery horsleman two talentes, and to euery footeman, thzee thousand deniers. That done he dispatched them home, and gaue thanks vnto the rest, because they promised to continue with hym tyll he had brought his warres to an ende. Bellus was presented vnto him at a litle towne, wherof the inhabitants be called Branchidans: whiche in tymes past by the commaundement of Perres when he came out of Greece, were brought from Miletum and placed there, because that in his fauour they had violated a Temple called Dydyrna. They had not all together forgotten theyr countrey customes, but had myxed theyr tongue, whiche by litle and litle were fallen from theyr owne language, & yet had not attayned the countrey speache. They receiued the Kyng with great ioye, yea dyng them selues and theyr Citie vnto his will. Wherupon he called vnto hym the Milefians that serued hym in hys warres (who bare an auncient hatred against the generation of the Branchidans) and put in theyr handes to determine whether they woulde saue the for the countrey sake, or els destroye them for the iniurie they had done in tymes past. But when the Milefians could not agree in opinion, he sayed he woulde orde the matter hymselfe. The next daye when the Branchidans came to meete him, he returned the all again into the citie, & commaunded his foote men to enclose the citie about, & entered with suche as he appoynted for the purpose, and by a token geuen, put al to the swoorde, and spoyled the Citie as a receptable of traytours. They being without armour and vnprouyded, were slayne in euery place, for neither the affinitie of theyr tongue,

nor any prayer or intercession coulde mitigate theyr enemies crueltie, whiche after the destruction of the towne, dyd cast downe the walles to the ground, so that no memoire therof shoulde remayne. That done they did not onely cut downe the woodes, wherein they bled theyr sacrifice: but also plucked vp the trees by the rootes, that the ground myght be left barayne as a deserte. If the same thinges had bene done agaynst the very offendours, the reuenge might haue bene thought righteous: but to lay the fault of the predecessours vpon the posteritie, it myght be thought a cruell acte, seeing there was not anye of them that had ever secne Miletum, or done to Perres any kinde of pleasure. As Alexander remoued from thence towardes the riuer of Tanais, Bessus was brought before him, not onely bound as a captiue, but also spoyled of all his garmentes: who Spitamenes led in a cheyn put about his necke: a pleasure syght to beholde, as well to the barbarous, as to the Macedons. When Spitamenes was come with him into Alexanders presence, he sayed: I haue brought here vnto you the kyller of hys owne maister, after the same maner that he him selfe gaue the example: wherein I haue bothe reuenged Darius that was my kyng, and you also that nowe haue gotte the souereigntie. Let Darius open his eyes, and ryle from death to beholde thys sight, that was vnworthye of suche an ende, and worthye to receyue such a comfort as thys is. After that Alexander had geuen Spitamenes thanks, he turned hymself vnto Bessus, and sayed: What beastly woodnes moued the to take thyne owne prince prisoner, and afterwardes to kill him, hauing so well deserued of thee: of whiche thy doinges thou hast receiued sufficient reward, by vsurping of the counterfeyt name of a kyng.

Bessus presented vnto Alexander.

Alexander to Bessus.

He

he had no heart to make answer, nor excuse his offence, saying that he said: he toke vpon him to be king, because he might deliuer him possession of the countrey, whiche thynge he had omittted, some other he sayed, would haue taken it in hand. The Alexander called for Dratres Darius brother, whome he had placed about his person, and comyncted Bessus to hys keepyng, to thintent he shoulde cutte of his eares and his nose, and hang him vpon a crosse, causyng his owne me to shoote hym throughe with arrowes, and so preserve his body that byrdes should not touche it. Dratres promised to perfourme all the rest, sayyng the keepyng away of the byrdes: which for the desyre he had to set fourth Catenes cunning, affirmed that none could so well keepe the away as he, who dyd shoote so assuredly, that he could stryke the byrdes flyyng in the ayre. And though it was a cunnyng not so muche to be marueyled at in a nation so expert in shooting: yet was it greatly wondered at of suche as did beholde him, & was great honour vnto the doer. He gaue rewards to al such as were the bringers of Bessus, but he dyfferred hys punishment, because he mynded to put him to death in the same place where he slew Darius. The Macedons in the meane season going a foragyng without ordre, were ouerthrowen by their enemies that came runnyng downe from the next mountaines. They tooke more then they dyd kyll, & drawing their prisoners befoze they retired agayn to the mountaines. There were of the to the number of .xx. M. which accustomed to lyue by theft, & synnges and bowes in theyr fight, who whiles Alexander dyd besiege, and in a skymishe pressed fourth with the foremost, he was stricken with an arrowe in the myddes of his legge, where the head stucked styl. The Macedons that were sorow-

full and amased for theyr kynges hurt, caried hym into
 hys campe, of whose departure out of the field hys ene-
 myes were not ignoraunt: for they myght beholde all
 thynges from the mountaines. The next day they lent
 embassadours vnto Alexander, whom he admitted to
 hys p[re]sence, and unfolding hys wounde, (whereby he
 thought to dissimule the greatenes therof) shewed hys
 legge vnto them. When they were commaunded to sit
 downe, they saied that hearing of hys hurte, they were
 as sorrowfull for it as hys owne subiectes, whiche should
 well be knowen: for if they coulde fynde out the person,
 that did þe deede, he should be deliuered vnto his hādes:
 they could not (they sayed) iudge them but Sacrileges
 that would fyght wyth goddes, of whose vertue they
 supposed hym to bee, and therfore were determyned to
 yeld them selues. Therupon he gaue vnto them assu-
 raunce & receiuing againe his mē that were taken pryso-
 ners, admitted them as his subiectes. That done he re-
 moued hys campe and was caried in a foote litter: for
 the bearynge wherof the horsemen and footemen con-
 tended together. The horsemen alleged it to be their of-
 fice, bicause the king accustomed to fight amonges the.
 And the footemen argued for theyr parte, that in as-
 muche as they vsed to cary the hurt souldyers, they
 thought no reason their office shoulde bee taken from
 them, chiefly when the kyng should be caried. Alexander
 therfore in so great a cōtentiō of both parties thought it
 a difficult matter to geue sentēce, because the iudgemēt
 shoulde be greuous to them that shoulde bee put from the
 office, and therfore ordered that they should cary hym by
 course. Fro thēce þe fourth day he came vnto a citie cal-
 led Paracāda, the walles wherof were lxx. furlonges
 about, but the caitle was without any walke he set a guar-

Paracāda.

The Scythians.

Penidas.

The rebellion of the Scythians.

rison in the citie, & then burned & destroyed the countrey ther aboutes. Embassadours came vnto hym thether from the Scythes called Alaians, whiche had bene free since the tyme that Cyzus was emonges them: but yet they shewed the selues the redy to be at his commaundement. They were knowe to be the most righteous people of all the barbarous natiōs, as men y neuer bled to make warre but when they were prouoked: whose moderation & temperaunce in vsig of their libertie, made the inferiours equal vnto the superiours. Alexander receiued them gently, and sent Penidas a frende of hys to those Scythes that inhabited within Europe, to forbyd them to passe the riuer of Tanais without his appointment: Who had also a secrete commissyon to viewe the situacyon of the countrey, and to visit those Scythas that inhabited about Bosphorus. He willed hym besides to chosse out a place vpon the bzynke of Tanais, where as he might build a citie, to remain as a fortres for the subduing of those people that he intended to visite. But this deuise was delayed by the rebellion of the Scythians, who had also drawen the Bactrians to their part. There were of the .vii. M. horsemen, whose auctorite the rest folowed: for the aduantage of whome Alexander caused Spitamenes & Catanes (the betrayers of Bessus) to be set for, thinking by their meanes to bringe the countrey agayne to his obedience, & to subdue suche as had made this sturre. But they whiche were iudged meete to stay the rebellyon, & were sent for that intent, were the chief aucthours of all the reuolt. For they caused it to be noised abrode y Alexander had sent for the Bactrian horsemen of purpose to kyll them all: Which comission (they sayed) being appointed to them, they would not execute, because they thought it ouer foule

foule an act to commit against their countremē. And for
 that cause could as il beare the Alexanders crueltie, as
 in times past Bessus treason. By thys meanes when
 feare of death was put into theyr heades, they were
 easely stirred to armes, which before were sufficient-
 ly enclined of theyr owne myndes. When Alexander
 was aduertised of their doinges, he willed Craterus to
 besiege Ciropolis: And he him self wāne an other city *Ciropolis.*
 of that countrey by an assault which he gaue to it on
 al partes at once, and by a signe geuen, caused all the
 childe to be put to death, makynge the rest a pray for
 the souldiers. This done, the citie was rased to the grounde,
 to thintent that others by their ensample might be kepte in
 obedience. There was a valiaunt people called *Memacenas.*
Memacenas. macenans, who were determynded to abide the siege:
 not onely for theyr honestyes sake, but also for that they
 thought it most for theyr surtie. For the mitigatinge
 of whose wyllfulnes the kynge sent to them fifty horse-
 men to declare his clemency towarde suche as sub-
 mitted them selues, and howe inexorable he was to
 such as he wanne by force. Their aunswere was, that
 they neither doubted of the kynges promys, nor of his
 power: but after theyr aunswere geuen, they lodged the
 without their walles, where as enterteinyng the wyth
 great chere till it was the deape of the nyght, they set
 vpon them, and slewe them all. Alexander was no lesse
 moued wyth thys matter, then the case requyred, but
 made an assault vnto the citie on all partes at once,
 whiche he founde furnyshed in suche wyse, that he
 coulde not take it at the fyrst attempt. Wherfore he
 appoynted Meleager and Perdicas to the siege ther-
 of, whiche then were besieginge of Ciropolis, myn-
 ding to spare the same, because it was builded by Ci-

rus. For he had not so greate admiration of any kynge that had reygned in those partes as of hym, & Semyrannus: whose magnanimitie of mynde, and fame of her actes seemed to him to excede all the rest: But the obstinate wilfulnes of the inhabitauntes, sturred vp bys wrath. For when he had taken the citie, he willed the Macedons to spoyle it, which had great cause to be moued agayst them, and so returned agayne to Meleager and Perdicas. There was not one citie that dyd more valiauntly abyde the siege, then the same dyd: for bothe the hardiest of the souldiers were slayne, and the kynge was brought in greate daunger, beyng striken in the necke with a stone, so that bys syght fayled hym: and was felled to the earth, so that he lost bys sense. The army lamented, thynkynge he had bene dead: but he was inuincible agaynst those thynges, which put o-ther men most in feare. For wythout taryenge he dressed bys wounde, returnynge to the syght, and after anger had sturred vp the egernes he had of nature, he renewed the assault agayne more fiercely then before. At length a great peece of the wall was ouerthrowen by a myne, at the whiche he brake in, and put the whole citie to sacke and to ruyn. He sent from thence Menedemus with .iii. thousande sotemen and .viii. hundred horseme to the citie of Maracanda, whych Spitamenes had newly taken, and put out fro thence the guar-rison of the Macedons: yet the citisens were not of this opinion: but when they sawe they coulde not withstand hym, it was of necessitie for them to agree to bys wyll. Alexander in the meane season came to the riuer of Tanais, where he enclosed about wyth a wall so much ground as bys campe dyd conteyne, extendynge in compasse. lx. furlonges and named the same citie Alexandria.

This

Alexander
builted a
new citie by
on Tanais

Alexandria. This thing was done wth suche expedy-
 tion, that within .xvii. daies after the walles were bp,
 the houses also were builded. And the whole was per-
 fourmed in a very smale season, thzough & cōtencyon e-
 monges the souldyers, who shoulde perfourme hys
 worke first, when the same was diuided into porcions
 emonges them. Theyr prisoners (whose raunsomes
 Alexander paid to their takers) were appointed to in-
 habite this citie: The discent of whome after so longe
 tyme are not yet woꝛne out: such fauour hath bene shew-
 ed to thē, in the memoꝛye of Alexander. The kynge
 of Scythia, whose Empire was thē beyond the ryuer
 of Tanais, iudging that the fortifieng vpon the ryuers
 syde should be as a yoke to hys necke, sent hys bzother
 Carcasus wth a great power of horsemen to deicate Carcasus.
 the fortificatyon, and to remoue aboay the Macedons
 from the waters syde. That ryuer diuideth the Bactri-
 ans from the Scythians of Europe, and is the lymyt
 which parteth Asia and Europe a sōdꝛe. But the coun-
 treis that the Scithes inhabyte stretch as farre, as
 Thracia, & lie betwixt the north & thest, ioyning wth
 Sarmacia, & possessing part of it. The countrey also
 that lieth beyōd the riuer of Jster is inhabytēd by thē, Jster.
 their vttermost boundes stretching to Bactria, and to
 the further boundes of Asia northwardes, wheras bee
 wonderfull great woodes & wilde desertes. But suche
 of them as bounded neere vnto Tanais & Bactria lac-
 kyd not much the ciuilitie of ether nacions. This being
 the first tyme that Alexander had to do wth these peo-
 ple, when he sawe that thē he had to entre into a warre,
 for the whiche he was not prouided, hys enemies ry-
 dyng bp & downe in his syght, and he diseased of hys
 wōūd, specially not hauing thuse of hys speach, whiche

Alexanders
wordes to his
frendes

Superstition
maketh men
religious

Aruspices.

Alexanders.
wordes

fayled much by reason of hys longe abstinence, and the payne in his necke: called hys frendes to counsell, & declared vnto the that he was not troubled with any feare of hys enemies, but with the iniquitie of the tyme: the Bactrians rebellyng, & the Scythians prouoking him, when nether he was able to stand vpon the grounde, strong ynough to ryde on horsebacke, or in case to gyue aduise or exhortacyon to hys men. In consyderacyon therfore of the doubtfull daunger he saw him selfe wrapt in, he accused the gods, complaynyng that he was the enforced to lye styll as a stocke, whose swyftnes before tyme, none was hable to escape. The matters grewe so great, that hys owne men beleued he had counterfeited hys sicknes for feare. And therfore he whych synce the ouerthrowe of Darius had left consultacyon wyth the diuiners and prophetes, turned hym selfe agayne to the vanitie & supersticion of mā, willing Aristander (to whom he was addicted in beleife) that he shoulde trye out by Sacrifice what his successe shoulde be. The custome of them whiche were called Aruspices was to consyder the intrayles of the beastes wythout the king, and to make report to hym of theyre signyficacyon. In the meane season whyles they were serchyng secrete that way, he wylled Ephestyon, Craterus, Erigius and other hys frendes to draw nere about hym, lest by streynyng of hys voyce he myght breake oute hys wound agayn, and sayed thus vnto them: The daunger I am in, hath caused the tyme to serue better for myne enemies, the for me: necessitie I see chiefly in þe warres to go before reason. For it is seldome geuen to men to chole theyr owne tyme. The Bactrians be reuolted, vpon whose shoulders yet we stande, purpoynge to trie what courage we bee of, by our behauiour towarde the

the Scythians. If we leaue of wyth doubtfull fortune and meddle not wyth them, whyche of theyr owne myndes haue prouoked vs: we shal at our retourne bee had in contempt of them whome we entend to visit.

But if we shall passe the ryuer of Tanais, & by the destruction of the Scythians and shedding of theyr bloud shewe our selues inuincible euerys where: Who wyll then doubt but that Europe wyll lye open, and geue obedyence to vs beyng victors & heys deceyued that doth measure by any dystaunce the boundes of the gloze we entende to passe. There is but one ryuer that letteth vs now for bynginge of our power ouer into Europe, which if we shall bring to passe, what an estimation shall it be for vs whyles we bee subduing of Asia, to set vp the monumentes of our victories as it were in a newe world, ioyning so soone together wyth one victory the thyng that nature seemeth to haue diuided wyth so great distaunce: but if we shall stay neuer so litte & geue ground, the Scythians wyl the come after vs, & pursue vs in the taile. Be there no moze but we þ haue passed riuers: there be many muencions yet remainyng enōges our selues, wherby we haue gottē victories. But fortune of the warre doth teache policy to suche as bee overcome: we haue shewed a p̄sident of late howe to swymme ouer ryuers byon bettels: Which thyng if the Scythians can not doe, the Bactrians shall teache them. It is but the power of one nacyon that now cometh against you: al the other yet stande in a stay to vnderstande of our donges. So that by eschewyng battayll we shall nozysly warre, and be compellyd to receiue those blowes, which lie in vs to geue to other. The reason of my aduise is manifest. But whether the Macedons wyl suffice me to

Carcasis

ble myne owne disposicio I doubt, because that since
I receiued thys wounde, I haue not rydden on horse-
backe, nor gone on foote. If you wyll followe me my
frendes I am whole: I gaue the strength ynough to
endure these thynges. And if thende of my lyfe bee at
hande, wherin can I spende it better? These wordes
that he spake were vttered wyth a broken and weake
voice, so that they could scarcelye be harde of suche as
were next hym. But when hys meanynge was percey-
ued, all that were present wente aboute to fraye him
from so raie an enterpryse. But Crigius wroughte
chiefly in the mattter, which perceyuinge that hys au-
thozitie coulde not preuaile agaynst the kynges obsty-
nate mynde, attēpted to worke hym by relygion, which
he iudged of greater force. For he declared that the
Goddess were agaynst hys determynacyon, which had
signified greate perill to ensue, if he passed the ryuer.
He sayed he had vnderstande that thyng by Aristan-
der, who tolde hym at hys comynge into the payn-
lyon what he had perceyued in the beastes intrayles.
Alexander vpon hys wordes was wūderfully troubled
both with anger and shame, when he sawe the secretes
of the religion brought to lyght, whiche he thought to
haue kept secret to hym selfe: & therfore caused Crigius
to go aside, and Aristander to bee called in vnto hym:
Whome he beheld in the face, and sayed: I seame to the
rather a priuate man then a kyng. I commaunded
the to make sacrifice, and thou hast declared the sig-
nyfycatyon therof to other and not to me. For Cri-
gius by thy report knoweth the priuities perteynyng
to me: But sure I Iudge that through hys owne feare
he deuyled an interpretacyon of hym selfe. Therefore
let me heare of thyne owne mouth what thou haste
found in

founde in the intrayles, to thintent thou shalte not deny that thou hast spoken. Aristander therupon was amased, & looked pale, not hable to aunswere one word for feare. But at length the same feare that made hym holde his peace, prycked hym forwardes to speake, lest the prolongyng of the kynges expectation myght prouoke hym to further wrath, aunswered: I sayed (quod he) there was in the enterpryse great daunger and dyfficultie: but yet that your attempt should not be in vaine. There is nothing that I haue perceyued by my science troubleth me so muche, as the loue I beare to you warres: for I both consider your infirmicie, and what a moment consisteth in your owne person, fearynge you shoulde not be hable to endure the thynges that fortune is dysposed to geue vnto you. When Alexander harde hym speake after that maner, he willed him to haue confidence in his felicitie, to whome fortune had graunted glory in greater thynges, and therupon dysmised hym: Afterwardes as the kyng was debatynge with such as he consulted with before, by what meanes he shoulde passe the riuer: Aristander came amonges them, affyrming that he had founde the intrayles contrary to that he did before, with as likely signes of good successe as any that euer he saw, shewing then as great causes to reioice, as he did before to feare. But immediately herupō Alexander receiued newes & much appaiered the continual felicitie he was wont to haue in al hys proceedinges. Menedemus being sent (as it hath bene saied before) to besiege Spitamenes, the aucthour of & Bactrians rebellio: Whē he vnderstode of his enemies coming, both in auoiding to be enclosed within walles, and trustyng belydes to take some aduauntage of the Macedons, layed an embushment to entrappe them.

There

There was a woode thzough the whiche they shoulde passe very apt for the purpose, where he layed the Dahang, whose custome was to cary two armed men vpon one horse, from whence they vled to leape downe by course. And by reason the swiftnes of the footemen was litle inferiour vnto the horsemen, they troubled greatly the order of the horsemans fight. Spitamenes gaue order to them, that whē theyr enemies shoulde enter into the woode, they shoulde enuiron them about on all sydes, whiche when they persourmed accor dyng to their appoyntment: Menedemus seeing hym selfe enclosed on all partes, and not equall in number vnto hys enemies, relisted a great whyle, crying out to the soldiours, that there remayned no hope to them being intrapt after that maner, but by makynge slaughter vpon theyr enemies to receiue the comfort of an honest death. Menedemus rode vpon a strong horse, charging oft tymes vpon his enemies, wherby he brake theyr order, & made great slaughter, tyl such time that he being laied at on all partes, receiued manye woundes, and fainted for want of bloud. Then he exhorted Hyspides that was one of hys frendes to leape vpon his horse, and escape away, & with that word he swoūded & fell to the ground from his horse. Hyspides myght haue gote awaye: but after he had lost his frēd, determined there to die, taking no other care but how to spend his lyfe with losse of his enemies. Wherfore he put his spurres to the horse, and ran in emōges thē, where he fought notably, & at length was slaine. When þ rest saw this ouerthrowe, & losse of their capitaine, they recouered an hil, where Spitamenes did besiege thē, thinking to subdue them for want of vitail. There were slaine in þ battail. ii. M. footemen, & iii. C. horsemen: Whiche misaduenture Alexander with great

Hyspides.

great policy kept secret, commaunding them that parted
fro the field, vnder paine of death not publysh this mat-
ter abzoade. But whē he could not beare out any lenger
a countenaunce contrarpe to his harte, he went alone
vnto his pavilion whiche he had set of purpose vpon
the riuers syde. There he waked all the night, deuysing
with him selfe what was best to doe. And dyuers times
he lyted vp hys tent to beholde the fyres in hys ene-
myes campe, therby to coniecture theyr number. When
the day appeared, he put on a corselet, and came fourth
emonges the souldiours, beyng the fyrst time they had
seene hym synce he receiued his hurt. They bare suche
a veneration vnto their kynge, that with hys presence
onely they put awaye the remembraunce of the feare
whiche caused them before to shyynke, and reioyced so
hartely, that when they saluted him, the teares dystil-
led from theyr eyes, and earnestlye required the fight,
whiche before they had refused. He took order there e-
monges them that the horsemen, and such as were of
the square battail of footemen shoulde be caried ouer in
boates, and that the lyght armed should swimme vpon
bottels. Neither the matter required any moze to be spo-
ken, nor the king could not say much moze by reason of
his infirmitie. For the souldiours went about the mat-
ter with such good will and cherefulness of mynde, that
within .iii. dayes they had finished .xii. M. boates. Whē
all thinges were prepared in readines for their passage,
there came .xx. embassadours of the Scythians, riding
by the campe, which required that it myght be declared
vnto the king that they had matter in comyssion to
declare vnto hym. Whē they were receiued into his pa-
vilion, and commaunded to sit downe, they fixed theyr
looke cōtinually vpon the kinges countenaunce, wher-
by

by it was thought, that waying þ greatnes of his courage by his personage that they sawe present, it appeared to them but small in respect of the same they hearde of him. The wittes of the Scythians be not rude and without knowledge as other barbarous people be. for it is saied that many of them attayne to suche learning as is possible for a nation being alwayes in exercyse of the warres: Whose wordes spoken vnto Alexander be left in memozye: whiche though they dyffer from the maner of vs that haue happened in moze cyuil times, and framed our selues to a moze humanitie: yet the fidelitie of the matter is not to be despyled, though the phrase of theyr speache be not allowed. And therfore I shall declare vncorruptlye the sayinges whiche the eldest of those Embassadours dyd speake after thys maner. If the Goddes had geuen thee a bodye according to the vnsaciabie desyre of thy mynde, the world should not be hable to receiue thee, but shouldest touche þ Orient with one hand, & the occident with the other: whiche thing once obteyned, thy care should be to become equal to þ goddes. Thus thou doest couet the thing, thou art not hable to compasse. From Europe thou goest into Asia, and from Asia passest into Europe. It must come to passe that if thou ouercome al mankind, thou must kepe warre with woodes and snowes, with riuers and wild beastes. What? art thou ignoraunt that trees do grow tyll they be great, and then be plucked by from þ roote in a moment? He is a foole that dothe couet the fruite, and cōsidereth not the height of the tree wheron it groweth. Take hede lest whyles thou dost labour to attaine vnto the toppe, thou fallest with the bowes which thou doest embrace. The Lpō hath bene sometyme the foode of small byrdes, and the rust doth consume the Iron.

There

The Oration
of the Scythians vnto
Alexander.

There is nothing so sure, that is not in daunger of hys
inferiour. What haue we to doe with thee? We neuer
touched thy countrey. Is it not lawfull for vs that liue
in the wast woodes to be ignoraunt what thou art, and
from whence thou comest? we can neyther be subiect
to any man, nor desyre to rule ouer anye creature. And
because ye shall not be ignoraunt of the state of our na-
tio, we haue certain gyftes in proper vnto vs, the yoke
of Oxen, the plough, the speare, the bowe, & the bowle:
which be the thinges that we vse both with our frendes
and against our enemies. We do geue vnto frendes of
the frutes gotten with our labour. With the bowle we
sacrifice wyne vnto the Goddes. With the bowe we
strike our enemies a farre of, and with the speare neare
at hande. After that sort we in tymes past ouercame the
king of Scythia, and afterwardes the king of Persie
and Media, makynge the waye open to vs into Egypt.
But thou which doest gloze that art come to be a per-
secuter of theues, art a robber of all nations, that thou
comest emonges. Thou hast taken Lidia, possessed
Siria, enioyed Persie, and hast the Bactrians vnder
thy power. Thou doest visite the Indies, and now stret-
chest fourth thy rauendous handes vnto our cattel. Why
doest thou couet that riches, that causeth thee to be
poore? Thou art the first of all men which with habun-
daunce hast prepared thy selfe hunger, and that with
the more thou hast, the more greedelye thou doest couet
the thinges thou hast not. Doest thou not remeber how
long thou hast sticke about Bactria: And whyles thou
goest about to subdue them, howe the Sogdians be-
gynne to rebell? Thus warre doeth growe vnto thee
of thy victorie. For be thou neuer so great, and puis-
saunt aboue anye other, yet there be none that can en-
dure

dure to be gouerned by straungers. Passe now Tana-
is: thou shalt perceiue what breadth it beareth, and yet
thou shalt neuer ouertake the Scythians, whose po-
uertie is swifter then thy armye, caryeng the spoyle of
so manye nations. For when thou shalt thinke vs to
be farre of, thou shalt see vs within thy Campe: with
lyke swiftnes, we folowe, and flee awaye. I heare that
our desertes be skorned by the Greeke prouerbes, we
couet rather those desertes and places vnhabytred,
then cities and plentifull countreyes. Therfore holde
thou thy fortune fast: for she is slipper and cannot be
kept agaynst her will. Followe thou the counsell that
is good, speciallye whyles the tyme doth serue. But a
byrdle to thy felicitie, and thou shalt gouerne it the
better. We saye that fortune is without feete, and that
she hath onely handes and winges: but when she put-
teth fourth her hande, she wyll not suffer her winges
to be touched. If thou be a God, then geue benefites
vnto mortall men, and take not awaye the commodi-
ties they haue alreadye. If thou be a man, consider al-
waye thine owne estate. It is foolyshe to remember those
thynges, whiche cause thee to forgeat thy selfe. Suche
as by warre thou makest thy enemyes: by peace thou
mayest make them thy very frendes. The most firme
frendship is emongest they that be equal: & they seeme e-
quall, which haue not yet made any tryal of theyr force.
Take heede thou take them not for thy frendes, whome
thou doest subdue and bring to subiection. There is no
frendship betwene the Lord and the slaue: and in peace
the lawe of armes is obserued. Thynke not that the
Scythians doe confyrme theyr frendshipp with any
othe. For they thynke they sweare in keepyng of theyr
fayth. The custome of the Greeces is to iustifye theyr
doinges

doinges by calling thei? Goddes to witnes. But we acknowledge Religion to consist in the saythe it selfe. They whiche doe not thei? due reuerence to men, deceyue the Goddes. Thynke not those frendes to be necessary vnto thee, of whose good will thou shalt neede to doubt. Thou mayst vse vs as keepers both of Europe and Asia. For we shoulde ioyne with Bactria, but that Tanais doth diuide vs: and beyonde Tanais our dominion stretcheth so farre as Thracia, and the same is that Thracia confineth with Macedon. Consider therefore whether it be necessary for thee or no, to haue vs as frendes or foes to bothe thynne empyres. These were the Scythians wordes, to whome the king made answer: that he woulde bothe vse his owne fortune, and thei? counsell whiche aduyced him well. He woulde folowe his fortune (he sayed) because he had great confidence in it, and other mens counsell, because he would do nothing rashely, nor vpon a sodaine. Therupon he dismissed the Embassadours, and embarked his armye in the boates he had prepared. In the forepartes of the boates he set such as had tergets, willing the to kneele vpon their knees for thei? more sauegarde against the shoote of arrowes. And they were placed behinde them that had the charge of the Engins, who before, and on bothe sydes were enclosed with armed men. The rest whiche stode beyonde the Engins being armed them selues, defended with tergettes suche as rowed. The same order was also obserued in those boates that carried ouer the horsemen. The more part drew thei? horses after them by the reynes, swimming at the boates tayle, and suche as were carried vpon trusses fylled with strawe, were defended by the boates that rowed betwixt them and thei? enemies. Alexander with suche men

Alexander
passed the ri-
uer of Tanais
is against the
Scythians.

men as he had chosen to be about his person, fyrst laun-
 ched from the lande, and directed hys course towarde
 the further syde. The Scythians came agaynst them
 with theyr horsemen in ordre of battayle, standyng v-
 pon the brinke of the further shoare to let theyr lading:
 whose shewe beyng a terrour to the Macedons, they
 had also another cause of feare in their passyng ouer.
 For the boate maisters were not hable to keepe theyr
 course agaynst the force of the streame. And the souldi-
 ours swayeng too and fro, for the doubt they had to fall
 in the water, troubled the mariners in doyng of their
 office. By reason wherof the Macedons could not haue
 scope to cast their dartes with anye force, taking more
 care how to place them selues out of peryll, then for to
 anoye theyr enemies. Theyr engines stode them in
 great steade, whiche seldome dyd shoote in bayne a-
 gaynst theyr enemyes that stode thicke before them,
 profferyng to resyst theyr landyng. When the Scythi-
 ans sawe them neare the shoare, they did shoote an infi-
 nyte numbze of arrowes into the boates, so that there
 was not in maner anye terget þ had not many heades
 sticking in it. At length the boates arrived at the land:
 then the terget men dyd rylse vpon theyr feete, and ha-
 uing more scope and sure footing, threwe theyr dartes
 more certainly & with greater force: wherby perceiuing
 theyr enemies to shyynke, and reane backe theyr horses,
 they then leaped cherefullye vnto the lande, one exhor-
 ting and encouraging another, and freely pursued the,
 whome they sawe fall out of arraye. By that tyme Al-
 exanders horsemen whiche had assembled them selues
 in troupes, brake vpon theyr enemies, and put them to
 great dysorder. In the meane season the rest beyng de-
 fended by them that were fyghtyng, landed and prepa-
 red

red them selues to the battayll. For Alexander letted not wth stobornes of courage to supplie the impotency of hys bodye. Hys voyce coulde not be heard when he spake and exhorted hys men (the scarre of hys wound not yet closed): but all men myght see hym fyghtynge. Wherfore euery one bled the office of a capitayne in geuynge exhortacyon vnto hys fellows, and ran vpon theyr enemyes without respect of theyr owne lyues. Then the Sythians could not endure any lenger the countenaunce, the force, nor the crye of theyr enemyes, but beyng all on horsebacke fled away vpon the spurres: Whome the king pursued. iiii. scoze furlonges, not withstandynge that with greate payne he endured hys infirmittie. When his hart fainted, he commaunded hys men that they shoulde folow styll in the chase so longe as the day lasted: and not hauynge strength to susteyne any further trauayle, returned in to his campe to rest hym selfe. The Macedons in theyr pursuite passed the boundes of Bacchus. In monumēte of whome there were great stones set vp by equall distaunce, and high trees, whose stockes were couered ouer wth fuyr. But no boundes could bee a stay to the Macedons, beyng carryed forwarde in theyr fury: for it was mydnyghte before they returned agayne to theyr campe: who hauinge killed many, and taken great nūbre of prisoners, dyd dryue before the. M. lxx. hundred horses. There were slayne of the Macedons. lx. horsemen: of the footemen to the poynt of one hundred: and a thousande of them were hurte. Thys enterpryse wth the fame of the victorie fallynge in so good a season, kept the more part of Asia in obedyence, whyche was of the poynt to haue rebelled. For they beleued that the Scythians were invincible: Who beyng

U. i.

vanquished

Sacans

Excipinus

banquished, they iudged no nacjns hable to with-
stand the powze of the Macedons. The Sacans ther-
foze after thys victoꝝy, sent theire Embassadours vnto
Alexander, offring them selues to come vnder hys obe-
dience. To the doinge wherof they were not so great-
lie moued with feare of hys foꝝce, as they were with re-
poꝝte of the clemēcy he vled towardes the Scythians,
after he had disconfited them. For he deliuered home all
their prisoners without raunsonie, to wytnes to the
world that he made warre wyth those fyerce nacjns to
shew hys powze and hys vertue, & not for any malyce,
noꝝ to thewe hys wꝝath vpon thē. That was the cause
that he so gently receyued the Embassadours of the
Sacans: causing Excipinus to accompany them: who
beyng a beutyfull yongeman in the first floure of hys
youth, was in that respect in great fauour, and famy-
liaritie wyth Alexander. In personage he was lyke
Ephestio: but inferioꝝ to him in pleasaūtnes of speache.
After thys Alexander guyng orðze to Craterus to
follow hym by small ioꝝneis wyth the greater parte
of hys armye, he hym selfe came to the cite of Mara-
canda, from whence Spitamenes that harde of hys
commynge, was fled into Bactria. The kynge therfoze
makynge great ioyneys foure dayes contynuallye,
came into the place, wheras vnder the conducte of
Menedemus he had lost two thousand footemen & .iii.
C. horsmen. Whose bones he caused to bee gathered to-
githers, celebratyng their funeralles after hys coun-
treymanner. By that tyme Craterus wyth the phalang
was come vnto the kynge: and to thintent he myghte
punishe wyth the swoꝝde all suche as had rebellyd: he
diuided hys powze into diuerse partes, commaundinge
them to burne in euery place where they wente, and to
kyl

kill all the children. The countrey of the Sogdians for the moze parte is wast, by reason of the great desertes that stretch querthwart the countrey. The riuer called Polytiuetum passed in maner throughe the length of yt, whych runneth a space violently in a narrow chanel, and then is receiued into an hoale of the earth, from whence it goeth vnderneath the ground: whose course is manifest by the noyse of the water that maye bee heard. And yet on all grounde vnder the whiche so great a riuer doth runne, there doth not appeare any moisture put forth. Of the captiues that were taken amonges the Sogdians, there were. xxx. of the most noble brought vnto Alexander: Whiche vnderstandynge by an interpreter, that by the kynges commaundement they shoulde bee put to execucion, began as men in myrth to synge and daunce, and by a certayne lascyuous mocyon of theyr bodyes expzelled a greate ioyfulness of the mynde. Alexander merueilyng that they toke theyr death wyth suche stobornes and magnanimitie of hart, called theym vnto hym, enquiryng why they shewed so greate a gladnes, when they had death before theyr face. They answered that if they had bene put to death by any, sauynge by such one as he was, they shoulde haue taken theyr death sorrowfully. But now seeyng the shuld be restored to theyr predecessours by a kyng that was a conquerour of all natyons: they reioysed in theyr honest death, as yf theyng that all men shoulde wythe and desyre. The king then maruayling at theyr magnanimitie: I enquire of you (quod he) if you can be content to liue, and become frendes to hym, by whose benefite you shall receiue you lyfe. They sayed that as they neuer were hys enemyes, (but as they were prouoked by oc-

Deucolaus

ration of the warres) euen so, if he woulde make an ex-
 periment of them rather by a benefite, then an iniurye,
 they woulde labour not to bee ouercome in good wyll,
 nor in doyng the thyng that pertayned to theyr dutie.
 They were aured what pledge they woulde lay of theyr
 promise. They sayed theyr liues they had receyued,
 shoulde bee theyr pledge redy to bee yelded agayne,
 when it were required. Therin they brake no promise:
 for suche of theym as were returned home into theyr
 countrey kept the people in good obediēce: and foure of
 them that were appointed to be of the kynges garde,
 gaue place to none of the Macedons in loue or affec-
 tion towardes theyr prynce. When he had ordred all
 thynges emonges the Sogdians, he lefte Deucolaus
 there wyth.iii.M. men of warre, and remoued into
 Bactria: from whence he commaūded Vessus to be ca-
 ried to Echatan, there to suffre death for the kyllyng
 of Darius. About the same tyme Ptholomeus & Me-
 nidas brought.iii.M. footemen & a thousand horsmen
 of mercenary souldiers: & one Aleander came to hym
 out of Lycia with.iii.M. footemen and.v.C. horsmen.
 Asclepeodorus had leuied the like numbze out of Si-
 ria. Antipater sent.vii.M. Grekes emonges whome
 there were.v.C. horsmen. When he had thus encreased
 his army wyth the supply of hys new power, he went
 about in euery place to quiet those sturres & bene ray-
 sed by the rebellion: And hauynge slayne them that
 were the aucthours and beginners therof, the fourth
 day came to the ryuer of Orus, which beyng a water
 vnholssome to be dronke (because it is ever troubled &
 full of mudde) the Macedons fell to digging of welles:
 And whē by digging deape they could finde no water,
 a spring sodenly appeared in the kynges tent, which be-
 cause it

cause it was not found at the first, they fained it to come by miracle. Therewith the kynge was pleased, and contented men shulde beleaue that the same was sente by the gift of God. When he passed the riuers of Ochus, & Orus, they came vnto a citie called Marginia, nere Marginia, vnto the whiche he chole out places for the buildyng of syxe townes: whereof he planted two towardes the south, and foure towardes the east: euery one dystaunt a small space from an other, to thintent that they mu- tuall assistaunce in tyme of nede should not bee farre to seke. They were all situate vpon hygh hilles, as byr- dels to kepe vnder those wilde nacyns. But now they haue for gotten their originall, and be subiect to those, they were wont to rule. The king hauinge subdued all the rest, one rocke onely remayned, which Arimazes a Sogdian had taken with .xxx. M. armed men, & furni- shed the same of victuals for two yeares. The same rocke was .xxx. furlôges in height and .xl. about, being in all partes steape and broken, hauynge one streyghte pathe onely to passe vp vnto it. In the mydde way to the toppe it had a caue which was narrowe and darke in the entrey: but by litle and litle it waxed wyder, and had more large lodgings within for a greate multitud, and was besides so full of springes, that when they met to gether, they ran downe the rocke lyke a furr. Alexander beholding the strength of this place, and the difficultie to wyne it, determyned to departe from thence. But there entred sodenly into hys hart a desyre to wery nature, and worke agaynste her power. Yet before that he woulde attempt the fortune of any siege, he sent Cophes the sonne of Artabazus, to persuaide Cophes, them to geue it ouer. Arimazes vpon truste of hys strength of the place answered in all thynges arrogantly, but

A rock kept
gaynst Alex
ander by Ari
mazes.

specially in that he asked whether Alexander coulde
 fyre: Whych wordes reported to the kynge, Dyt put
 hym in such a fure, that streight wayes he called for
 suche as he bled to consult wyth all, Declaryng the prde
 and presumption of Arimazes, and after what maner
 he had skorned hym. But shortly (he sayed) he would
 deuise such a polycye, that he would make hym thynke
 the Macedons had winges. He required them therfore
 that out of the whole army they woulde chole out and
 bryng to hym thzee hundred of the most yghte young
 men whiche had bene accustomed to dryue beastes e-
 monges the rockes and streyghte pathes of the moun-
 taynes: wherupon they brought suche to the kynge,
 as both for lyghtnes of body, and hardynes of harte
 were mozte mete for suche a purpose: Unto whom he
 sayed: my fellowes that bee of myne owne age, wyth
 you I haue wonne Cyties that were counted inex-
 pugnable, and haue passed the toppes of mountaynes
 couered continuallye wyth snowe. Wyth you I haue
 gone through the streightes of Silicia, and haue wyth-
 out werynes susteyned the violence of the colde: wher-
 by I haue experyence of you, of me. The rocke whiche
 you see hath but one entre, which our enemyes do ob-
 serue, the rest they neglect. They keape no watch but
 towarde our campe. If you diligently serch, you shall
 fynde some way to bryng you to the toppe. Nature
 hath made nothyng so hyghe, but that it may bee at-
 tayned to, by the industry of man. In puttynge
 thinges in prouise, wherof other haue despayzed, we
 haue gotten Asia into our possession. Deuyle you the
 meanes to get vp into the toppe, whych when you
 haue taken, you shall geue a token to me by settynge
 vp of some white clothe. You shall see me then come
 forwarde

The exhorta-
 tio that Alex-
 ander made to
 them who he
 had appoynted
 to clymbe the
 rocke

forwarde wyth my power, and turne the enemyes from you towarde me. He shall haue ten talentes for a rewarde that doth recouer the toppe fyrst, and he that getteth by nexte, shall haue one lesse, and the lyke orde shalbe obserued, wyth ten of the first. I am assured that you regarde not so much my liberalitie as my fauour. When they had heard the kinge speake after that maner, they imagined the thing wonne, and departing out of hys p[re]sence, p[re]pared stronge ropes and yron hokes, which they myght fasten to the rockes, and so clyme by. The kyng brought them aboute the rocke, where as it seemed least steape & most playne to mount vpon, and in the seconde watche willed them to passe forwarde wyth good speade. They beyng furnished wyth two dayes victuals, & armed onely wyth swordes and speares, at the fyrst went forwarde wythout any great difficultie. But when they came to the steapnes of the rocke, some tooke holde of the broken craggies to lift by them selues, and some fastenyng the yron hokes on the rockes, clame by by the ropes. They were compelled to reste and staye dyuers tymes, and so consumed the daye in trauaill & in feare. When they had passed many difficult places, further difficulties alwayes appeared, the height of the rocke seminge to growe more & more. When they failed either of theyr holde, or of theyr footyng, it was a myserable thyng to see how they fell doone hedlonge, shewyng to the other misfortune, an ensample what was a likely to become of them. Notwithstandyng at length throughe al these difficulties they gotte by vnto the top, where they al weried wyth the trauaill of theyr continuall labour, & some with the hurties & maymes they had receiued, slept there al that nyght, amonges the wyld and

rough rockes, bnmynndfull of the perill they were in. When it was daye they wakened oute of their deape sleape, and beholdyng the valleis vnderneath the, were ignozaunt in what parte of the rocke so greate a multitud of theyz enemyes shuld lie. But at lēgth whē they perceiued by the smoke in what place they were, they vpon the poyntes of two speares set vp the signe that was appoynted them, and founde than in their comynge vp they had lost theyz numbze two and thyrtye. The kinge beunge carefull not so muche for the desire he had to wyne the rocke, as for to saue those whome he had sent to so manifest a daunger, stode all day beholding the toppe of the mountayne. And when darkenes of the night tooke away the prospect of the eyes, he departyd to resteshe hys body. The next day befoze it was full lyght, he receyued the white cloth set vp in the top of the rocke: but the varyetie of the ayer, and the sonne begynnyge to appeare, and yet hydden, caused hym to doubte a while whether hys syght had fayled him or no: But when it was full and open daye, it appeared manifestlye, and all doubte was remoued. Then he called Cophes, by whome he had attempted theyz myndes befoze, wyllynge hym ones agayne to exhort them to bee better aduised. And if so be that in trust of theyz strength, they would not submit them selues, that then he shoud shewe to them the men that had taken the rocke ouer theyz heades. When Cophes came thether, he began to perswade Arimazes to geue vp hys strength, thereby to wyne the Kynges fauoure, and not enforce Alexander to stay in the siege of a rocke, hauing so many weighty affaires in hand: But he founde him moze obstynat and proude then he dyd befoze, and wylled Cophes to departe and moue hym no

him no more in the matter. Then he tooke Arimazes by the hande, and required him to go with hym out of the caue. When they were come wheras they might looke about, he shewed him those that were gotten to the top of the cragge, and skorning then his pryde, axed of him whether Alexanders souldiours had gotten winges or no. By that time the trumpets were blowē in the Macedons campe, & they might heare the alarme that was made in the army: Which matter as many vaine & trifling thinges are wont in the warrres to grow to great effect: so that was the cause why they yelded thē selues, for feare so troubled them, that they could not consider the small number that were ouer theyr heades, but called Cophes againe in great hast, who was departed away, and sent with him vnto Alexander. xxx. of the chiefe men, auchozised to yealde by the rocke, with composition for to depart in saufeguard. But Alexander notwithstanding that he doubted lest his enemies dyscoueryng the fewnes of his men, myght put them to distresse: yet trusting in the felcitie of hys owne fortune, & offended with the pryde of Arimazes, would agree to no condition, but that they shoulde yelde simply. Arimazes therupon dyspeyring more of hys estate, then he had cause, descended downe to the campe with the chiefe of the nation that were of kinne to him. All the which Alexander caused to be scourged with rodde, and he crucified at the foote of the rocke. The multitude that yelded, with the money that there was taken, were geuen in gyft to the inhabitants of the new cities. And the rule of the saide rocke was committed to Artabazus, with the charge of the countrey there about.

The eyghth booke

of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.



Mallages.
Attinas.

Alexander hauing wonne this roche with greater fame the gloze, because his enemyes remayned in no place certaine, it was necessary for hym to seperate his power, & so diuided his armye in three partes. He gaue the charge of the one part to Ephestion, to Cenon the other, and tooke the thyrde part vnto hym selfe. Hys enemyes were not all of one opinion: for some of them seeing theyr defence coulde not auayle, yel- ded them selues befoze the syght, to whome he gaue the Cities and the landes of those that continued styll his enemyes. But the outlawes of Bactria with but, hundred horsemen wasted the byllages of the Mallages. For the redzesse wherof, Attinas gouernour of that countrey, went against them with three hundred horsemen, not knowing that hys enemyes laye in wait for him: whiche laying theyr embusshement in a woode ioyning to a great playne, had appoynted a certayne to dzyue cattall, therby to dzyue their enemyes with the gredines of the praye within daunger of the embusshement. When Attinas men sawe the dzyuers of the cattall, they pursued them without order: so that when they were passed the woode where the embusshement lay, their enemyes brake out vpon them (castyng no suche perils) and slew them euery one. The same of this ouerthrowe came immediatly vnto Craterus, which dreyne thes

thether with the horsemen. But the Massagetes being
 fled befoze his coming, he slewe. **M.** of the Dahans **Dahans**
 that tooke theyr part: wherby the whole rebellion of the
 whole countrey ceased. Thus Alexander hauing sub-
 dued the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda, whe-
 ther Berdes (whome he had sent to the Scythians in-
 habiting about Bolphorus) came to hym with Em-
 bassadours of that countrey. Phrataphernes also that **Phratapher-
nes**
 had the chief rule of Massagetes and Dahans (which
 nations were ioyned by affinitie together) sent cer-
 taine messengers to Alexander, offering to be at hys
 commaundement. The Scythian Embassadours
 made request that Alexander would marie theyr kin-
 ges daughter: and if the affinitie pleased hym, that he
 woulde suffer the Prynces of the Macedons to en-
 ter in mariage likewise with the noble mens dought-
 ers of their countrey: promisyng that the king should
 come in person to visite him. He hard gentlye both the
 Embassades, and styll continued in that place, tyll E-
 phestion and Artabazus came vnto him: and then ioyn-
 ing his power agayne together, came into the coun-
 trey that is called Bazarla. **Bazarla**
 There is nothynge more es-
 temed in that nation, then to haue great heardes of
 wyld beasts enclosed in parkes, whiche be very pleas-
 saunt and full of sprynges. Those parkes be enclosed
 with walles, and towers builded wthin the, to be lod-
 ges for the hunters. There was one parke in that coun-
 trey that had remayned vnhunted, durynge the tyme of
 foure mens ages: wherinto Alexander entred with his
 whole army, chasynge & wylde beasts in euerye quarter.
 Amonges the rest there was a lion of a rare bygnes &
 came running towardes Alexander: Which thing when
 Nisimachus (that afterwarde was king, standynge by
 chaunce

Lisimachus.

Clytus.

Hellanice.

Alexander
offended his
frendes with
ouer much ad-
uaunting of
himselfe.

chaunce then next to Alexander) perceiued, he stepped
befoze him, to receiue the Lyon with his hūting speare.
But Alexander plucked him backe, and willed him to a-
uoyde, saying that he was hable to kyll a lyon so well
as Lisimachus. This Lisimachus on a tyme huntynge
in Siria, killed by hym selfe alone an huge Lyon. But
yet he was tozne to the bones vnder his left shoul-
der, & put in great daunger of his life. Which being the mat-
ter, that Alexander ment, he persourmed with that word
no les then he promised: for he did not onely receiue the
lyon, but killed him with one stroke. Therupon the fable
did rise, how Alexander should haue cast Lisimachus to
a lyō. But though Alexanders chaūce was good her-
in: yet the Macedons knew that by the custome of hys
cōtrey he should not haue hunted on foote without the
chiefest of his nobilitie and frendes about him. He kyl-
led within that parke. iiii. M. wylde beastes, and there
dyd banquet his army, returning afterwarde to Ma-
racanda, Artabazus excusing him selfe there by his age
that he was vnapt for the rule of that countrey: Alex-
ander committed the same to Clytus, being the mā that
defended hym with hys terget when he was fightynge
bare headed at the riuer of Granick, & there cut of with
his sword Rhosaceris hande, that was in a readines to
strike the kyng. He was an olde souldiour of Philip his
father, and notable by manye seates of warre that he
had done. Hellanice his syster was Alexanders nurice,
whome he loued no lesse then hys owne mother. For
these causes he commytted the strongest parte of hys
Empyre to hys fidelitie. The King that purposed to
set forwarde in his iourney the next daye, made that
nyght a solemne banquet: wherein (beyng ouer great
an aduaunter of hym selfe) when he was chased with
drinking;

Drinking, begā to set fourth the actes that he had done,
in such sort that his wordes offended the eares of suche
as knew them to be true. The auncient men kept silence,
tyl such time as he began to deface þ doinges of Philip
his father, aduauntyng the notable victoꝛye at Chero-
nese to be his deede: the gloꝛye wherof, he sayed, was
taken from him by the malice and enuye of hys father.
foꝛ he alleged howe in the mutinie whiche roase be-
twene the Macedons and the Greeke souldiours, whē
Philip laye hurt of a wounde whiche he receiued at a
fraye, thought him selfe sure no otherwyle than to coue-
terfayt to be dead: When he defended hys bodye with
hys buckeler, and slewe them with hys owne hande
that ranne vpon his father to haue kylled him. Which
act (he sayed) hys father woulde neuer gladly confesse:
noꝛ neuer coulde abyde to acknowledge hys sauegard
to come by hys sonne. He also declared howe after the
iourney he made by hymselfe into Illiria, in wytyng
vnto his father, he ascribed the victoꝛye vnto hym selfe,
whiche ouerthrewe hys enemies, and put them to flight
when Philip was awaye. He sayed that in hys opini-
on, it deserued but smal commendation to make a iour-
ney into Samothracia, when Asia ought to haue bene
spoyled and bzent. Noꝛ he thoughte no man worthye
prayse in deede, but suche as doe so great actes, that
may excede all mens credit. The young men that were
present were glad to heare these wordes and suche o-
ther lyke: but they were vngratefull vnto the auncien-
tes: speciall ye foꝛ Philip his cause, vnder whome they
had long serued. Then Clytus whiche in lyke case was
not very sober, turned to suche as sate beneathe hym,
rehearsyng verses of Euripides, wherof the kynge
myght rather heare the sounde then the wordes. The
effect

effect of them was, that the Greekes dyd euyl, whiche in the monumentes of theyr victories, dyd subscribe onely the names of theyr kynges, whiche vsurped the glozve to them selues that other menne dyd winne by the aduantage of theyr bloude. Alexander therfore whiche iudged his wordes to haue bene worse then they were, enquired of suche as late next hym, what Clytus saied. But whē they kept silence: Clytus with a lowder voice rehearsed in order Philips doinges, and the warres he made in Greece, preferring the befoze anye actes done since that time: Wherupō there dyd ryle a cōtention betwene y^e young men & the old. But the king enforcing a paciēce in himself, whē he hard Clytus debase his praise, cōceiued a moderatill wrath in his mind. Yet it semed y^e he woulde haue bydded his affection, if Clytus woulde haue made an ende of his presumptuous talke. But whē he would not cesse, he gaue occasion to Alexander to be further moued. Clytus then dyd procede so farre fourth, that he durst defend Parmenio his case, & preferred y^e victory that Philip wanne of the Atheniens, befoze the destruction of Thebes. And going further and further, not onely through drunkenship, but euen by a forwardnes of a contentious mind, at length saied. If we must dye through thee, Clytus is the fyrst. For they receyue greatest rewardes of thy victory, y^e can most shamefully debase thy fathers memozy. The countrey of the Sogdians is geuen vnto me, that hath so often rebelled: and now is not onely vnsubdued, but such one as by no meanes can be brought to subiectiō. I am placed emōges those wild beastes, that be of suche an vnquill dysposition. But I coulde passe ouer thinges pertewing to my selfe: if the souldiours of Philip were not despyled: forgetting that if the old Atharias had not turned again y^e young

Clytus
wordes.

young men, when they gaue ouer the fight, we had yet
sticked about Allicarnazus. Howe is it then that Asia is
conquered with these young men: But I see it is true &
your vncle saied in Italy: he chaunced vpon men, & you
vpon womē. There was nothing & Clytus spake of dyd
in his rashnes, that moued more & king, then the hono-
rable mention made of Parmenio: yet for all & he kept
in his grief, & did no more but commaunded him to auoid
out of the place, & spake no other worde, sauyng that he
saied: If thou talkest a litle longer, I thynke thou wilt
brayde me with the sauing of his lyfe: wherof in verye
dede he would ofte times proudly aduaunce himself. But
not withstanding that & king had willed him to depart,
yet he taried still, and would not clye: And therfore such
as sat next him, tooke him by & armes to leade hym a-
way, blaming, and geuyn g him exhortation, for his bet-
ter blage. When Clytus sawe himself drawen fourth a-
gaynst hys wyll: Ire was added to his dronkennes:
and declared then alowde howe that he with hys best
defended the kynges backe: but nowe when the good
turne was past, the very memozye of his benefite was
hated: & therwith laied to his charge the deathe of At-
talus, and finally mocked & Oracle of Jupiter, whome
Alexander claimed to be his father, and saied & he tolde
him better trueth, then his father dyd. At thole wordes
the king was sturred to such wyath, as he could scarce-
ly haue bozne being sobze: But hauing then hys senses
ouercome with drinke, leaped sodainlye from the table:
His frendes were amased, which throwing downe the
cuppes for haste, roase to wait & ende of the thyng, they
sawe him go about in such a fury. He tooke a speare out
of a squyres hand, and would haue stricken Clytus, that
was yet raging with thintemperaunce of hys tongue:
But

But he was stopped by Ptholomeus and Perdicas, who tooke him in theyr armes, and stayed hym for all his stryuing: And Lisimachus and Leonatus tooke away the speare. Then he called to his garde for ayde, cryeng out that he was take by his next frēdes, as Darius was of late, & willed the trūpet to be blowen, that the armed men myght assemble vnto the court. Then Perdicas & Ptholomeus fell downe vpon theyr knees requiring him that he would not perseuer in hys wozath which he so sodainly had conceyued, but rather respite hys dyspleasure, seeyng that he myght the next daye muche better order the matter. But hys wozath preuayled so muche, that hys eares were shutte vp, and he ranne in a furey emonges the watchmen, pluckynge a speare out of one of theyr handes, which once gotten, he stood in the entrie, throughe the whiche they must nedes passe that supped with him. When all the rest were come fourth, Clytus came last without lyght. And because Alexander could not dyscerne hym, he asked what he was: but that was done so terribly, that the crueltie of the acte he went about appeared in hys voyce. But Clytus whiche seeyng the kyng in a furey, had no respect how muche he had offended him before, aunswered that he was Clytus, which was conning from the kynges banquet. With that worde he strake hym throughe the body, so that he fel downe starke dead, and was all besprinkled with hys bloude. So nowe quod he to Philip, Parmenio, and to Attalus. Herin it may be seene that nature prouyded euill in the disposition of man, which for the more part cannot consider so well thinges to come, as those that be past. For after that Alexanders ire was asswaged, and his drunkenness past, weying aduisedly & foulness of the act he had

Dong

done: considered then that though he Clitus had bled o-
 uermuche libertye in hys talke, that yet he ought not to
 haue slayne so noble a man of warre: yea, and the sauer
 of hys owne lyfe, though he were ashamed to confesse
 it. He sawe that he being a kynge, had bled the detesta-
 ble office of an executioner in reuengyng with wicked
 slaughter the libertie of wordes, which might haue ben
 imputed vnto wyne. When he behelde the bloude of
 hym whiche a lytle before he had bydden to hys ban-
 quet runne ouer all the entrey, and that the watche-
 men were so astonyed and amased, that they stoode
 as farre off & durste not come neere: his solitarines cau-
 sed hys repentaunce to be the greater. Then he plucked
 the speare out the dead corps, and would haue thrust it
 through hys owne body, if the watchemen had not
 come runnyng, and with great stryungge wozong the
 same out of hys handes. That done they toke hym vp,
 & caried hym into hys lodgyng, wheras he fell doونه
 flatte vpon the grounde, fillyng all the court full of the
 miserable noyse of hys howlyng and lamentacyon. He
 tare hys face wyth hys nayles, and requiered suche as
 stode aboute hym, that they woulde not suffer hym to
 lyue in such a shame and dishonour. In these requestes
 he consumed the whole nyght, and caused dylgente
 serche to be made whether it were pice of the Goddess
 or no, that had caused hym to comyt so heinous an acte.
 At length it was founde that the pearely sacrifice due
 vnto Bacchus was not done in due tyme: And therfore
 it appeared manifestly, that it shoulde bee the wrath of
 the Goddess, that had moued hym to comyt murder
 vpon eatyng and drynkynge. But the greatest thinge
 that encreased hys sorowe, was the amalement of hys
 frendes, when he sawe them shyynke from him and that

Alexanders
lamentacon
for the death
of Clytus

none of them after that deede doone, woulde gladly
vse suche familiar communication as they dyd before.
Then he percepued that he shoulde liue as a wyld beast
in a desert, both leauinge others, and also astrayed hym
selfe. The next mornynge he commaunded the bodye
bloudy as it was, to be brought into hys chābre, which
when he saw lyenge before hym, fell in weapyng and
sayed: Shall I after thys sort requite my nurice, whose
H. sonnes slayne for my glozy at Miletum, I haue now
killed her brother (that was her onelye Joye) at myne
owne bourd: What refuge shall that wretched woman
haue? I was all the comfort that dyd remayne to her:
and now she shall neuer bee glad to behold me. Shall
I the wycked kyller of my preseruers, returne into my
countrey, when I shall not bee haile to present my hand
vnto my nurice without the remembraunce of her mys-
fery: When he could put no ende to these kynde of be-
wailinges, & complaintes, the body was taken away
by the appoyntment of hys frendes. After he had layen
thre dayes shut vp in his chambze, sorowung after this
maner, the squires & suche as had the keepynge of hys
person, seeing him geuen obstinately to death, brake into
hys lodgyng, & with great payne brought him (though
he long withstode theyr prayers) at length to take some
reliefe and sustenaunce. And to the intent he shoulde be
the lesse ashamed of Clytus death, the Macedons de-
creed that he was lawfully killed, and would not suffice
hym to be buried, but that the kynge commaunded it.
Hauinge consumed ten dayes at Haracanda, special-
ly to confyrme the shame he had conceued of Clytus
death, set Ephestion with part of hys army into Bact-
tria to prouide victuals against winter: And comytted
the same prouynce vnto Amintas, whych he before he
had

had gyuen to Clytus. Fro thence he wente into a coun-
 trey called Zenippa & cōfineth with & Scythians: which ^{zenippa.}
 beyng well inhabited and full of villages, both wth the
 plentyfullnes therof, not onely deteine the inhabitants to
 dwell there still, but also inuiterh straungers to come
 amonges thē. The same was a refuge to the outlawes
 of Bactria that still rebelled: but after Alexanders co-
 myng was knowne, they were dzyen south by the con-
 frey men, and two. M. and two hundred of theyr horse-
 men assembled together, which were accustomed to liue
 by thē it and spoyle in tyme of peace: to home not onely
 the warre but also dyspayre of forgyuenes, had made
 moze cruell, and theyr wild disposicions worse. They
 gaue an onsef to depulpe vpon Amyntas, that was Da ^{Amyntas}
 tins liuetenant. The battayl was long dolibfull betwixt
 them: but finally they lost. vii. hundred of theyr numbre,
 wherof. iii. C. were taken prysoners, and turned theyr
 backes to the victozours, not wthout a reuenge: for
 they slewe of them. iiii. score besydes thre hundred and
 L. that they wounded. And yet notwithstandinge
 after thys secoude rebellyon, they obtayned pardon.
 When Alexander had broughte them to obedyence, he ^{Paura.}
 came with hys whole army into a countrey called Pau-
 ra, the lord wherof was called Spymithres, who ^{Spymithres}
 had gotten two sonnes by hys owne mother, it beyng
 lawfull there for the parentes to vie theyr chyldren.
 The same Spymithres wth two thousande armed mē
 fortified & kepte the streight at the entre of the coun-
 trey where as it was most narrow. Th^e passage was
 defended both wth a ryuet & wth a rocke, throughe
 the whiche rocke the way was made by force of hande.
 The lighte is receyued in at the entre: but further in-
 ward there is none, but such as men bryng wth them.

From this rocke there goeth a babote vnderneath the
grounde, that hath issues into the fieldes, which be not
knownen but to such as be of the same countrey. Though
this streight was naturally strong, and defended be-
sides by a strong power: that letted not Alexander to at-
tempt it, but brought engynes which they call Arietes,
to beate downe suche fortification as was made wyth
hand, and wyth slinges and shot of arrowes, did beat
his enemyes from the places of theyr defence. When
he had dryuen them awaye, he passed throughe the
fortificacions he had wonne, and made approche vn-
to the rocke. But the streame that grew of the assem-
blye of waters fallynge from the mountayne, was an
impedymente to hym therein. It seemed a wonderfull
worke to fill the chanel of the riuer: yet he caused trees
and stones to be brought to the place, and set the thinge
in hande. When his enemyes that neuer had seene any
suche worke before, sawe the worke ryse sodenlye lyke
a mountayne, were put in a maruaylous feare, whyche
the kynge supposinge they might haue bene brought to
render: it vsent one Ariartes of the same nacion to
persuade Silimithres to render the rocke. And in the
meane season to put them in more terrour, he caused
towers of woode to be brought forwardes, and dyd
shote wyth engins so out of the same, that the enemy-
es forsakynge all other strengthes, rettyred into the
toppe of the rocke. Ariartes findynge Silimithres in
this feare, perswaded him rather to proue Alexanders
beneuolence then his force: and seeynge all creatures
submitted them selues vnto hym, that he onelye should
not bee hys let, goynge wyth hys victorvous army into
India, whereby he shoulde turne other mens plagues
vpon hys owne necke. Silimithres would haue bene
contented

contented to followe his aduise, but that she which was both hys mother and hys wyfe, affirmed howe she woulde rather dye, then comynyt her selfe into any mans hande: And therfore beyng ashamed that the loue of lybertye shoulde remayne moze in a woman thē in hym being a man, altered hys purpose, takyng that way which was moze honest then sure, and dymysed hym that was the meane for peace, determynynge vtterly to abide the extremitie of the siege: Yet when he had weyed well hys enemyes power and hys owne togethers, began agayne to repent hym of hys wyues counsaile, as of a deuise mozt rashe then profitable, and made suite that Oriartes woulde retorne, proferynge then to comynyt hym selfe to the kynges wil: onely requirynge of Oriartes that he woulde not vtter hys wyues mynde and opinionion, for fear least she shoulde not obteyne hys pardon. He sente therfore Oriartes before, & he came aiter wyth hys wyfe, his chylzen, and all his kynskolke, wythout taryenge for any assuraunce promysed to hym by Oriartes. Alexander hearynge of theyr comynge, sent hys horsmen before to cause theym to staye, and tarye for hys comynge. And when he was come to the place where they dyd abyde, he offered sacrifice to Minerva and victoria, restorynge to Silimythres hys former rule and aucthoritie, puttyng hym in hope of a greater countrey, if he woulde faithfully continue hys frendshippe, and toke hys two sonnes presented to hym by the father, to serue in hys warres. Alexander lefte hys footemen to subdue suche as were yet vnyealden, and went forwarde with hys horsmen into other partes. The waye was craggie & difficulte, whyche at the first they endured indifferently: but afterwarde when their horse houes were torne

Philip

Spitamenes

asunder, and they vtterly forweried, many were not able to folow, but rydde disperkled, and oute of order: the wetines of their traualle so muche ouercame shame. The kynge not withstanding, chaunged often horse, and pursued without cessinge hys enemyes that fled before hym: By reason wherof all the noble younge men that were wonte to accompanye hym, were lefte behynde, sauyng onely Philip Lysimachus brother, who then beyng in the floure of hys youth, and of great likelihode to become an excellent man, followed on fote the kynge that dyd ryde on horsebacke by the space of fiftye furlonges: Lysimachus dyuers tymes for all that proffered to hym hys horse. But in no wyse he woulde depart from the kynge, notwithstanding that he had on hys corselet and all hys armout. When the kynge passed through a woode where hys enemyes laie in embushment, he fought notably & rescued the kynge fightyng wyth his enemyes. But after they were put to flyght and driue out of the woodes, the greatnes of hys courage, which had susteyned hym in the heate of the fyghte, faynted wyth hys bodye, and beyng all on a sweate, leaned hym selfe to a tree, whych he dyd not so stape hym, but that he fell to the earthe, and beyng taken by agayne by the kynges handes, shooke downe from hym and dyed. The king beyng sorowfull for hys deathe, receyued an other tydynges, no lesse to be lamented. For before he came to hys campe, he was aduertised of the death of Crigius, one of hys moste notable Capitaines: whose funerals were both celebrated wyth great pompe and ceremonies of honour. From thence he determyned to goe vnto the Dahans, where he vnderstoode that Spitamenes was. But Fortune that neuer celled to fauoure

uoure hym, synished that iourney of hys, as she dyd
 manye other. Spitamenes was enflamed wyth the
 ouermuche loue of hys wyfe, whom he caried with
 hym in all hys hasardes and aduentures. But she
 that coulde not well endure flyinge, nor to chaunge
 places like an outlawe, became so werpe of trauayle,
 that by flattery and fayre meanes, she entyled her
 husbände to leaue hys flyinge, and go about (seeyng
 he sawe no way to escape) to procure Alexanders
 fauoure: of whose clemencie (she sayed) he had sene
 so great experience. And to moue hym the moze in the
 matter, she brought befoze hym the children begotten
 betwixt them, makynge request, that at the least wayes
 he woulde take pitie on them, wherein she thought her
 prayer would be the moze effectuell, because Alexan-
 der was so nere at hande. But Spitamenes iudging
 her not to do thys by waye of counsaile, but of pur-
 pose to betraye him, and that she desired to submyt her
 selfe vnto Alexander in confidence of her beautie, drew
 oute hys swerde to haue striken her, if he had not beene
 letted by hys brethren. When they woulde not suf-
 fer hym otherwyse to hurt her, he commaunded her
 to auoyde hys syght, threatenynge to kill her, if she pro-
 fered to come agayne to hys pzeience. And to mitygate
 hys loue towarde her, he spent the nyght amonges
 hys concubynes. But hys loue that was so deapelye
 grounded, therby celled not, but rather kendeled the
 moze towarde hys wyfe. Wherefoze he reconciled
 hym selfe agaye vnto her, makynge hys continual re-
 quest, that she woulde not counsaile nor moue hym any
 moze in the matter, but bee content wyth suche chaun-
 ces as fortune woulde sende hym: for he esteemed
 death lyghter then to yelde hym selfe. She purged her

selfe of her former perswasyon, whiche appered to her
 (she sayed) to haue bene good, and though it were after
 a womans maner, yet it proceded of a faithfull mea-
 nyng. Yet from thence fourth she was contented to do
 as it should please hym. Spitamenes ouercome wyth
 her counterfait affection, made a greate feast, and af-
 ter muche eatyng and drynkyng, became drowlie, and
 was carped into hys chamber. When his wife percey-
 ued him to be in a deape sleape, she pulled out a swerde,
 whiche she had kept secretelye for that purpose, and
 cut of hys head, deliuerynge the same beyng sprinkled
 wyth bloud vnto her seruante that was priuy to the
 facte, and wyth hym onely, as she was enbrued wyth
 bloude, came vnto the Macedons campe, wyllynge it
 to be signified to Alexander that there was one come,
 that had to speake with hym. He by and by gaue com-
 maundement she should entre: but when he perceyued
 her defiled with bloud (thinkinge that she had come to
 lamente some iniurye done vnto her) wylled her to
 declare what she would haue. She desired that her ser-
 uant myght come in, from vnderneath whose garment
 she toke Spitamenes hedde, and presented it vnto Al-
 exander. The palenes of the face wantynge bloude,
 had taken awaye the knowledg whole it was. But
 when the kynge perceyued it to bee a mans hedde,
 he departed fourth of the tente, and by enquirie vnder-
 stode the matter. The case brought hym in great per-
 plexitie, and was driuen by dyuers ymaginations in-
 to sundrye opinions. He iudged the kyllynge of suche
 one (beinge a fugityue and a rebell) to bee a greate be-
 nefyte vnto hym: whyche liuyng, myght haue bene
 a greate let and impedymment to hys procedynges.
 But one the other syde, considerynge the horribleness
 of the

of the deede, that she should kill hym by treason, whiche
 loued her so entierlye, and by whome she had had chil-
 dren: the vyolence of the acte ouercame the thanke of
 her benefite, & she was commaunded to depart the campe,
 lest the ensauple of such lycentiousnes, might corrupt
 the maners and cyuil disposition of the Greckes. Whe
 the Dahans vnderstoode of Spitamenes deathe, they
 brought Dataphernes bound, that was partner with
 hym in hys conspiracye, and yealded them selues vnto
 Alexander. He beyng delyuered from the greatest
 part of hys present care, determined to reuenge the in-
 iuries of them whiche had bene mylused by the pryde
 and couetousnes of his deputies and officers. Therfore
 he committed Hircania with the Cardons and Capi-
 rions to Dataphernes, to whome he gaue in commis-
 sion to send Phradates his predecessour to hym as a
 prisoner. Camisnoꝝ was substituted ruler of Caria in
 the place of Artamus. Artaces was sent into Media,
 to thintent that Oxidates shoulde remoue from thence.
 Babilon vpon the death of Dazens was comynitted
 to Deditamenes. When he had ordeined these thynges,
 the thyrde moneth he drew his armye out of theyr
 winter lodgings, to go vnto a countrey that was cal-
 led Gabaza. The fyrst dayes iourney was quyet, and
 the next not verie tempestuous: yet darker then had
 bene accustomed, but not without some significatyon
 of theyr calamities that were comyning. The thyrde day
 the element was full of lightning: and when the lyght-
 nyng celled, it was very darke. The beholdyng therof
 amased the souldiours, and put them in great feare. It
 thundzed in maner continually, & the lightning fell in
 straunge similitudes, so that the army stode astonied,
 and durst neither go forwarde, nor remayne still in a
 place.

Gabaza.

A tempest.

place. Then there came sodainly a shower of hayle dzy-
uyng lyke a streame: whiche at the fyrst they defended
by couerture of their harneys: But shortly after they
handes were so colde and wet, that they could not hold
theyr weapons, nor yet deuyle whiche waye to turne
them selues, fynding alwaies where they turned theyr
faces, more violence of the tempest then before. Euerye
man therfore brake his aray, wanderyng aboute the
woodes: and manye that were wored by feare rather
then by trauayle, laye downe vpon the grounde, not-
withstanding that the force of the colde had conuer-
ted the shower into a frost. The trees, agaynst which
they leaned, were a great refuge and helpe to manye.
And yet they were not ignoraunte when they rested,
that they chose them selues a place of deathe: for when
they left to moue theyr bodies, the naturall heate left
them: But ease was so pleasaunt to suche as were we-
ried, that they refused not to dye in resting of theselues.
Theyr affliction was not onely behement for the tyme,
but also continued very long: to the encrease wherof, the
lyght, whiche is a naturall delectation vnto men, tho-
rough the darkenesse of the shower, and the shadowe
of the woode, was so taken awaye, that it appeared
as it had bene nyght. The kyng onely was hable to
endure thys mischiefe, whiche celled not to goe about
the armye, drawing the souldiours together when they
were disperkled, lyfing them vp that lay on the ground:
and to encourage them, he shewed them the smoke
that roase a farre of from the cotagies, whether he ex-
hortet them to drawe for succour. There was not a-
ny thing more effectuall to theyr sauegarde, then that
whiles they were ashamed to leaue theyr prince, whome
they saw endure this mischiefe, they chased them selues
with

with theyr labour and trauaile. But necessitie (whiche in aduerse fortune is of moze force the any reason) found out a remedy for this colde. They fell to cutting downe the woode, making euery where heapes & stacks thereof, and set them on fyre. Then a man woulde haue iudged that the whole woode had bene on a flame. For there was scarcely space left betwixt the fyres for men to stand. Then theyr nummed membres began to be moued with the heate, and theyr spirites whiche were oppressed by force of the colde, beganne to haue theyr free recourse: Some recouered the cotagies, which necessitie caused them to seeke out in the furthest parte of the woode, and the rest recouered the campe, whiche was planted in a moyst ground. But by that tyme the shower was celled, the tempest had consumed a thousand souldiours, berlets, and slaues. It is sayed that dyuers were found frozen to death, leanyng agaynst trees, and yet seemed as though they had bene liuyng and speaking together. It chaunced that a common souldiour of the Macedons, which had much paine to go and carpe his armour, came at the last into the campe where the kyng was: who notwithstanding that he was chafing of hys owne bodye agaynst the fyre, yet he dyd ryle out of hys chayre, and pulling of the nummed souldiours armour, that was almost past hys remembraunce, set hym downe therein. He a great while knewe not where he late, or who had receyued hym. But at length when hys naturall heate came to him, and perceyued it to be hys kinges seate, & the kyng to be there present, was afrayed, & start vp againe. But Alexander beheld hym in the face, & saied: Perceuest thou not now my souldiour, with how much better conditiō thou liuest, then þe Persians doe vnder theyr kyng? For it is deathe for them to sit

sit in the kinges seate, and the same hath bene the saue-
 garde of thy lyfe. The next day he called his frendes,
 and the capitaines of the armie together, promysing
 to restore to them what soeuer they had lost: wherein he
 performed hys promise. For Sisimithres bryngyng
 vnto him many beastes of burden with two. M. Ca-
 mels, and great number of sheepe and oxen, he distri-
 buted all amonges the souldiours: wherein he bothe re-
 stored to them theyr losse, and also deliuered them from
 theyr hunger. The kyng gaue great thanks vnto Si-
 simithres, and commaundyng his souldiours to carpe
 fyre daies victuals ready dressed, went to the Sacas,
 where he destroyed all their countrey, and of the bootie
 there take gaue xxx. M. sheepe in gift to Sisimi-
 thres. From thence he came vnto a countrey beloungyng to a
 noble prince called Cohortanus, which submytted him-
 selfe vnto the kyng. And he againe restored his countrey
 vnto him, exacting nothing of his, but that of his three
 sonnes he shoulde send two with him to serue his war-
 res. But Cohortanus offered to hym all three, and made
 a feast vnto Alexander, with all such sumptuousnes
 as belouged to the maner of the countrey. Therin all
 the pleasures beyng shewed that coulde be deuysed,
 thyrtye byrgines of the noble mennes chyl dren were
 brought in before Alexander, amonges whome there
 was Cohortanus daughter called Roxane, whiche in
 beauty and excellence of personage, and in comlyn-
 es of apparayll (rare amonges those nations) excelled all
 the rest. And notwithstanding that they were all elect,
 with whome she was accompanied: yet she drew al mens
 eyes towarde her, and speciallye the kynges, & coulde
 not wel now gouerne his affections in such prosperitie
 of fortune, beyng the thyng that the frailenes of man-

Roxane.

seldome can auoyde. Thus he whiche behelde the wife of Darius and her two Doughters (to whome Roxane was nothyng comparable) with no other intent then he myght haue done hys mother, was then so farre ouercome with the loue of a young virgine, beyng but of a base stocke, if she shoulde be compared to kynges bloude, that he assyumed it to be a thyng necessarpe for the establisment of the Empyre, for the Persians and Macedons to marye togethers: by whiche onely meanes shame myght be taken from the vanquished, and pryde from the victorours. He also for hys purpose alleged a president how Achilles (of whome he was descended) ioyned hym selfe with a captiue. And lest hys doynges shoulde be thought iniurpe, he woulde couple hym selfe by the way of mariage. The father ioyfull of these newes that he looked not for, gladly confirmed the kinges wordes: Who in the heate of his desyre, caused bread to be brought fourth accordyng to the custome of hys countrey, the same being the most religious ceremonpe of mariage amonges the Macedons: whiche bread was cut a sunder with a sword, and eche of them made of it a sacrifice. It is to be thought, that suche as establisshed the customes of that nation, coueted by a moderat and a scarle dyet, to shew to them that were the gatherers of great riches, with howe small a thyng they ought to content them selues. Thus he that was both king of Asia and Europe, ioyned hym selfe in mariage with a mayde brought in at a maske, to be-geat vpon a captiue, that shoulde reygne ouer the victorious Macedons. Hys frendes were ashamed that he shoulde choose vpon dynke a father in lawe, of them that he had lately subdued. But after the death of Clytus, all the libertie and frankenes of speache beyng taken

A ceremonpe
of mariage amonges the
Macedons.

Bubacen.

Alexander con-
ucteth to be
honoured as
a god.

taken awaye, they seemed to agree with theyr coun-
tenaunces, as with the most apt instrument to declare
the consent of the mynde. After thys was doone, he
prepared his iourneye towards India, purposynge
to visyte the Ocean Sea. And because he woulde
leauue nothyng behynde his backe that myght be im-
pediment to hys expedition: he tooke order for thyr-
tye thousande young men to be leuyed oute of all the
prouynces, and to be brought vnto him armed, myn-
ding to vse them bothe as pledges and as souldiours.
He sent Craterus to pursue Haustanes, and Catenes:
of whome the one was take, and the other slayne. Aoli-
percon also subdued the countrey that was called Bu-
bacen. And so hauing set all thinges in order, he set his
whole ymagination vpon the warre of Inde, whiche
was counted to be a verreyche countrey, and to ha-
bounde bothe with golde, pearles, and precyous sto-
nes: thynges more apperteynyng to voluptuousnes,
then to magnificence: and it was sayed that the souldi-
ours there had theyr tergets made of Iuerie, and of
golde. And therfore lest he whiche thought hym selfe
to excell the rest, should be passed in any poynt, caused
his souldiours to garnishe their tergets with plates of
siluer: the horsemen to make theyr brydles of golde, and
theyr corselets to be bewtifed with golde, and with sil-
uer. There were a hundred. and. xx. M. armed men that
followed Alexander to that warre. When all thynges
were in readines, for the purpose he long before concei-
ued in his euyl disposed minde, thought it time to com-
passe howe he myght vsurpe the name and honour of
a God, and so willed hym selfe not onely to be called,
but also beleued to be the sonne of Iupiter, as though
his power had bene as wel to restreynne mens thoughtes
as

as they: tongues. Hys entent was that the Macedons shoulde fall grouelinge vpon the grounde and worshype hym after the lyke maner the Persians did they: kynges. And to suche hys desyre, there wanted not pernicious flatterye, the perpetuall poyson of princes: whose estate hath had more often ouerthrowes by flatterye, then by anye force of encynyes. The Macedons were not in blame of this: for none of them suffered gladlye they: countrey customes to be subuerted. But it was the fault of the Greekes, which with they: naughtye conditions, corrupted the profession of honest sciences. There was one Hagis of Argiue, as euil a poet as was iince Cherillus dayes, & another called Cleo a Sicilian, geuen to flatterye bothe of nature and by the custome of his countrey. They with other the dredge and refuse of their countreyes (whome Alexander reputed more then any of his capitaines or his kinsmen) would haue made it appeare to þ world, that heauen had layen open for Alexander, & stycked not openly to pronounce that both Hercules, and Bacchus, Castor and Pollux shoulde all geue place to his new godhead. for the bringing of those thynges to passe, the king commaunded vpon a solemne daye a feast to be prepared with great pompe, inuiting therunto al the great lordes, and gentlemen both of the macedons and the Greekes: with whome when he had sitten and eaten a whyle, he departed from them out of the feast. Then Cleo, as was befoze determined, set fourth his talke with great prayse and woonder of the kinges vertues, rehearsing his excedyng benefites towardes them all: whiche to requite, he sayed there was but one way, and that was if they woulde acknowledge hym a God, whome they knew to be one. for it is a small thing (qd he) to recompence

Hagis.
Cherillus
Cleo.

pence suche great benefites towardes you, with the cost
 of a litle frankinsence. He shewed the Persians custome
 to be bothe religious and wyle in worshyping theyr
 kinges as Goddes: thinking their defence & saueguard
 to consist in the maiestie of theyr prync. He sayed, that
 Hercules and Bacchus were deified, when they had
 once quercome the enuy of such as liued in theyr time:
 And men that come after do easely beleue such thinges
 as haue bene confyrmed by theyr predecessours. If a-
 ny of you (quod he) will sticke at thys matter, ye shall
 see me the fyrst that at the kynges commyng in, shall
 fall downe grouelyng on the earth and worshyp hym.
 Which president others ought to followe and specially
 men of most wisdom, that shoulde alwayes be en-
 saumple to others in doyng theyr dueties towardes
 theyr prync. Hys tale tended directlye agaynst Cal-
 stenes, whose grauitie and prompt libertie of spea-
 king was hatefull vnto the kyng: for he thought him
 the man whiche onely had stayed the Macedons, that
 els woulde readelye haue done to hym that honour.
 Herupon euerye mannes eyes were turned towardes
 Calystenes, whiche after sylence made, sayed in thys
 wyle: If the kyng were present, (Cleo) to heare these
 thy woordes, it shoulde not be nedefull then to aun-
 swer thee: for he hym selfe would make request that he
 might not thus swerue out of this kind into þe customes
 of straungers: nor he would not suffre that thou shoul-
 dest deface & bring in the obloquie & enuy of men, with
 such thy pernicious flatterye, his noble actes, brought
 to passe with suche felicitie and good fortune. But be-
 cause he is awaye, I for him will thus aunswere thee.
 There is no fruite soone rype, that will continue long.
 This I meane by the diuine honours, which, whyles

thou goest about to geue vnto the kyng, thou takest his
honour from hym. There is a tyme requyred that
men shuld beleue hym to bee a god: for that gift hath
alwayes bene geuen to great men, when they are once
dead, by such as came after them: I wyshe vnto the
kyng immortalitie after hys death, and that hys lyfe
maye bee longe and hys estate continuall. But sanc-
tifieng is a thinge that somtyme doth followe a man,
but it doth neuer accompany him. Thou diddest reherse
ensamples of the deieng of Hercules, and Bacchus.
Thynkest thou that they were made Goddes vpon
drinke, and by the decree of one dynner: the nature of
Alexanders manhode must be remoued from our mor-
tall eyes, befoze the same can bryng hym into heauen.
Are not they goodly Goddes (Cleo) that thou and I
can make? Would the kyng (trowest thou) be content
to receiue of vs þe auctoritie of hys godhed? I haue
great desyre to proue thy power. If thou canst make a
god, first make a kyng. It is muche moze easye to
geue a worldy kyngdome, then the possessyon of hea-
uen. Thynkest thou (Cleo) that the immortal goddes
will heare the without dysdayne, or suffre these thy wic-
ked deuises to take effecte: they would we shulde holde
vs content with the the customes of our fore fathers:
and for my part I am not ashamed of my countrey: nor
I require not to learne after what maner I should ho-
nour my prync. For in myne oppynyon, we acknow-
ledge hym sufficiently to bee kyng and victorour, of
whome we receiue lawes to liue vnder. Calistenes
was fauourably hard of all men, as the persone whome
they counted the recouerer of theyr vniuersall libertie.
He dyd onely in hys tale paynte out suche flatterers, but
also lively expressed the opinion of the Macedons,

ſpecially of ſuche as were auncient men, to whome the
exchaunge of theyr olde viſages were greuouſe. The
Kynge was nothyng ignorant of the wordes that
had paſſed betwixt them: for he ſtoode behynde a par-
tycyon of the hall and harde all the matter. He ſente
worde therfore to Hagiſ, and Cleo, that at hys com-
myng in, they ſhoulde moue the ſtraungers onely to
fall downe and worſhypp hym after theyr countrey cuſ-
tome. And after a while, the kynge as though he had
bene aboute ſome matters of importaunce, returned a-
gayne into the feaſt: and then the Perſians fell downe
and worſhypped hym after ſuche ſorte as was deuſed.
But Polypercon that ſat aboute the kynge at the
borde, asked one in ſkorne that touched the grounde
wyth hys chynne, why he kyſſed no harder: wyth
whiche wordes he moued Alexander to yre, whereof he
was euer vnpatient: So that he ſayed vnto Polyper-
con: Is it thou that dyſdayneſt to honour me & ſhall
I bee mocked of the alone? He aunſwered that it was
not ſeuely a kynge ſhoulde bee ſkornd, nor yet a
ſubiect bee deſpyſed: Wyth whiche worde the kynge
plucked hym from the table, and thruwe hym downe:
to whome he ſayed, fallinge grouelynge vpon the
earth: Lo haſt thou not doone thy ſelfe, that before
thou dyddeſt ſkorne in an other man: and therupon
he commaunded hym to warde, and ſo brake vp the
feaſt. Polypercon beyng thus punyſhed, was after-
wardes pardoned. But Calſtenes whole contempt
and ſtubburneſſe the kynge had longe grudged at, grou-
ded hys dyſpleaſure then moze deapely: vpon whome
there chaunced ſhortly after an apt occaſyon to bee
reuenged. It was a cuſtome (as it hath bene ſayed
before) amonges the noble men of Macedon to put
theyr

Polypercon

they sonnes, when they were past they childhode in
 seruice to the kyng, as pages to do necessary busynes
 about hys person. They blage was to wathe nightly
 by course at the chambze dooze where the kyng lay.
 The concubynes were brought in by theym, by an o-
 ther way then where the garde watched. They lyke-
 wyse receiued the horsles of the gromes of the stable,
 and brought them to the kyng when he leaped on.
 They alwayes were about the king both in huntynge
 and in battayll, and were brought vp in the study of li-
 berrall sciences. The chiefeft honour was geuen by
 to them, because they myght sytte and eate wyth the
 kyng: none had power to correcte theym wth stripes,
 but onely the kyng hym selfe. Thys company was
 like a masse or stoate, from whence all the capitaynes
 and gouernours of the Macedons dyd come. From
 thence came they latter kynges, whose lynage the po-
 wer of the Romaynes longe after dyd extinct. Hermo-
 laus one of that numbze, because he had stryken a boze
 (whome the kyng had thought to haue stryken hym
 selfe) was by hys commaundement beaten, and scour-
 ged wyth rodde, whiche rebuke he toke greuouslye,
 and cōplayned to Sostratus hys frende that was one
 of the same company: Whych he seyng the body tozue,
 toherunto he had so great affectyon, and peraduenture
 offended also with the king before, for some other cause,
 stirred so Hermolaus (whiche was prouoked suffy-
 ciently alreedy) that eche gaue sayth to other to fynde a
 way to destroy the kyng: Whych they executed,
 not wyth any chylde the procedynge, but wysely agreed
 to bynge Nicostatus, Antipater, Alclepiodorus, and
 Philotas unto the felowshyp of theyr conspiracie. And
 afterwardes they ioyned vnto them more, Anticles,

Al treason
 conspired
 agaynst Pa-
 lexander.

Sostratus

Claptonius, & Phimanes. But the meane how to performe this purpose seemed very difficult, because it behoued all them to watche together. And it was the usage that according to theyr courses, some watched one nyghte, and some another: for if any should happen amonges them, that were not priuie to the matter, the same nyght bee a let to the whole enterpryse. Therefore about chaungynge the course of theyr watche, and in other preparacyon for the executyon of theyr purpose, there passed xxxii. dayes. At length the nyght came when the whole numbze of the conspiratours shulde watche together: who reioyled greatlye amonges the selues, that eche had kepte sayth to other: wherof so manye dayes sylence had geuen good prouise: durynge which tyme neither feare, nor hope, had altered any of their myndes: so greate was the dyspleasure they had conceived agaynst the kyng, or els the fidelitie they bare eche to other. They were standyng at the doore, where the kyng dyd eate, to thintent that at hys rysynge from the banquet, they myght brynge hym to hys chamber. But Alexanders fortune, and the pleasauntnes of such as were in hys company, moued hym to drynke largely: wherby and by reason of other pastimes and deuises, the tyme was so prolonged, that the conspiratours stood in a marueylous perplexitie. for one while they were glad, because they trusted to fynde hym dronke, when they shulde go about theyr enterpryse: and another while they were in great agony, lest he shuld syt til day lyght: for then the custome was to releaue the watche, and other to succede in theyr places: and since theyr course shuld not be come agayne till the vii. night after, they could not bee assured that euery one of them would keape the thyng secreete all that tyme. 2. At whē the

the day began to appeare, and Alexander was risen from the banquet: they were so glad to execute theyr malice, that they became ioyful to receiue the kyng. There was a woman accustomed to haue the court, which (being extraught of her minde, and seeming by some inspiration to shew thinges to come) mette Alexander, and would in no wyse suffer him passe, but perswaded hym by al meanes she could deuise, to retourne & sit downe againe. He saied to her in sport that y goddes gaue him good aduise: and therupon called backe agayne hys familiars, and sat drynkinge til it was two houres after day lycht: By which time an other compaignie had releaued the watche, & were standynge befoze the kynges chaumber dooze: yet for all that the cōspiratours remained still after the tyme of theyr watche expyred: So behement is the hoape which mens myndes conceiue, when they be drowned in the desire of greate thinges. The kyng spake moze gently to them then he was accustomed, and willed them to goe to their rest, for so much as they had watched al y nyght befoze: and gaue vnto euery one of the in rewarde. 50. sesterces, with cōmendacion of their diligence, that they continued theyr watche lenger then theyr time. Being thus deceyued of the greate hope they were in, they departed to theyr lodgings, in expectaciō of y night when theyr course should come agayne. But Ephimanes, whych eether by the gentlenes the kyng shewed hym amonges the rest, or els that he thought the prouidence of God had wythstand their purpose, sodainly chaunged his minde, and opened the matter they had gone about to hys brother Curilocheus, that was not priue to the matter befoze. The punishment of Philotas was so freche in euery mans memozy, that Curilocheus layed streyghte

Ephimanes
disclosed the
conspiracye

Curilocheus

wayes handes vpon hys brother, and brought hym in
 to the court. He called to the watche, and shewed them
 that he brought newes pertayninge to the kynges sa-
 ueguarde: which thinge well appeared, aswell by theyr
 comming at such a time, as also by theyr sadnes, which
 was a testimony of theyr troubled mindes. The watch
 me called by Ptholomeus, & Leonatus, that lay within
 the kynges chambze, which straight way brought the
 into the kinge, and wakened him, that by reason of hys
 much drynking lay in a dead sleape. It was longe oꝝ he
 awoke: but by litle & litle he came to hymselfe, and asked
 what the matter was. Then sayd Eurilochus: thanked
 be the goddes þ haue not vtterlye determined the ruine
 of our famlye. For though my brother purposed an
 heynous act, yet is he come to repentaunce: by hym
 the matter is brought to lyght. This same very night
 treasoꝝ was coꝛspired agaynst you: the aucthours ther-
 of be such as you would scarcely thynke. And therupon
 Ephimanes declared all thinges in oꝝdze, with the na-
 mes of the conspiratours. It is certayne that Calyste-
 nes was not named as one priuy to that treason: but
 it was coꝛfessed that he gladly gaue eare to others talke,
 when they blamed and spake euill of the kynges proce-
 dynges. Some do adde therunto, that when Hermo-
 laus dyd complayne to Calistenes howe the kyng had
 beaten him, he had hym remembꝛed how he was a man.
 But whether he spake it to take the thing in pacience,
 oꝝ els to sturre hym to further malice, it reamyneth in
 doubte. When the king was fully awaked, and called to
 hys memoꝝy the perill he was in, gaue Eurilochus fyt-
 ty talentes, wyth the forfait of a riche mans goodes
 called Tiridates, and forgaue hys brother, before hys
 pardon was required. He comaunded the pꝛyncipals
 of thys

of this treason to be kept bounde, and amonges them Calistenes : who beyng taken and brought into the courte, the kynge slept all that daye, and the nyght ensuing: he was so heuy with drinking and watchinge. The next day he called a great councell, wherat the fathers and kinsfolkes of the conspiratours were present, not very well assured of theyr owne sauegarde, because that by the lawe of the Macedons all ought to dye, that were any thyng a kynne to traytours. All the conspiratours excepte Calistenes, by the kynges commaundement were brought fourth, immediatlye confessyng the whole treason they had deuyled. Then euery man present reuiled them, and the kyng enquired what he had doone to theym, why they shoulde conspyre his death. When all the other stode still and helde theyr peace : Hermolaus aunswered thus : ye demaunde this thyng of vs, as though ye knewe not the matter. We went aboute to kyll you, because ye beganne to reygne ouer vs, as if we were slaues and not free borne. As he was speakyng those wordes, his father Persepolys called hym traytour and murdret of his parentes, stoppyng his mouth wyth his hande, because he shoulde speake no further.

The worde
of Hermolau
to the kyng

Then the kynge plucked his father backe, and wylled Hermolaus to speake suche thynges as he had learned of his mayster Calistenes. Then Hermolaus proceeded : I wyl vse your benefite, and declare those thinges whiche I haue learned to the greate myschiefe of vs all. Howe small is the numbze of the Macedons remaynyng, that haue escaped your cruelty : Attalus, Philotas, Parmenio, Lyncestes Alexander, and Clitus, are now deade : but to our enemyes behoue they be alpye. They stode in the fight, and defended the

with swordes, receyving woundes for your glozy & victo-
 tozy, which now bee very well rewarded: The one be-
 sprinkled your table wyth his bloude, & y other coulde
 not bee suffred to dye a simple death. Thus the cappy-
 taynes of your people be tormented and put to death: a
 plesant spectacle to the Persians, of whome they were
 victorours. Parmenio, by whome ye slew your ene-
 mye Attalus, was put to death wythout iudgement.
 Thus ye ble the hâdes of vs wretches as instrumetes
 one to kyll another: and suche as euen now were your
 tormentours, streyght wayes you commaunde to bee
 tormented of others. At those wordes the multitude
 began to shoute agaynste Hermolaus: and hys fa-
 ther drew hys sworde to haue slayne hym, if he had
 not beene letted by the kynge, whyche commaunded
 Hermolaus to speake, requirunge the reste to heere hym
 patiently, whiche (he sayed) enforced the cause of hys
 owne punishment. At length wyth great labour they
 helde theyr peace, and then Hermolaus began agayn:
 how lyberall is he to suffer rude chyldren to speake:
 When the voyce of Calistenes is shut vp in pryson,
 because he alone is able to tell hys tale: and whye:
 because he seareth the free speache of an innocent,
 and because he can not endure to beholde hys face:
 and yet I wyll iustifie he is not pryue to thys mat-
 ter. But other there bee here that purposed wyth
 me a noble enterpryse, of whome there is not any that
 can accuse Calistenes of consente, and yet oure so
 patient and rightuous a kinge, hath determined heere
 hys death. These be the rewardes of the Macedons,
 whose bloude is mylused as hyle, and of no valour.
 He hath. xxx. M. mules caryenge spoyle and treasure:
 and yet the pooze souldiers cary nothyng wyth them
 but

but vntrewarded woundes and charres: All whyche thynges we dyd easelye suffre, before he dyd betraye vs to the barbarous, and after a newe trade of byctozours, made vs slaues. He alloweth the apparayle and dyscipline of the Persians, and despyseth the manners of hys owne countrey: And therfore we determined to kyll hym, not kynge of Macedon, but kynge of Persie: and as a fugityue, persecuted hym by the lawe of armes. He woulde haue the Macedons kneele to hym and worshyp hym as a god. He refused Philyp for hys father: and if any God had bene before Jupiter he woulde haue refused hym lyke wyse. Do you maruayle if free men cannot beare this hys pryde? What can we hoape for at hys handes? seepng we must eyther dye as innocentes, or els (that is worse then death) liue and remayne in bondage as slaues. He is greatlye in my debte, if by thys he could amende: for he may learne of me the thyng that free heartes cannot endure. Spare them whose age shalbe sufficiently tormented wyth the losse of theyr chyldren: but vpon vs cause execution to be done, to thintent we may obtayne by our owne deathe, the libertye we sought for by hys. When Hermolaus had spoken these wordes, the kynge the answered after this maner: How false these things be which he hath learned of his instructour, my paciēce doth declare. For notwithstanding he before confessed this treason, yet my mynd was ye should heare what he could say: knowing very well that when I gaue libertie to thys thiefe to speake, that he woulde vse the same rage and fury in his talke, whiche before moued hym to haue kyllled me, tohome he ought to haue loued as hys father. Of late when that in hunting he vled a great
pre:

presumption, I commaunded hym to be chastised after the custome of our countrey vsed by the kynges of Macedon: Whiche chastisement we must graunt needefull to be done, lyke as the puppis be accustomed of their tutors, the wyues of theyr hulbandes, and seruauntes of theyr maisters. Thys was all the crueltie I vsed towardes hym, whiche he would haue reuenged with murther, and treason. But how gentle I am to all persons, that suffer me to vse myne owne dysposition, synce you your selfe doe knowe, it were superfluous for me to rehearse. I cannot maruaile at all, though punishment of traytours be dyspleasaunt to Hermolaus, since he hym selfe is in the same case: for when he commendeth Parmenio and Philotas, it maketh for his owne purpose. I pardoned Lyncestes Alexander, whiche was accused by two witnessses, that he twise conspired treason agaynst me: and agayne conuycted, yet deferred I hys punishment two yeares, tyll you your selues required he myght haue hys deseruyng. Touching Attalus, ye remember very wel how he wrought treason against me before I was king. And for Clytus, I would God he had not moued me to pre, whose rashe tongue speakyng the rebuke and shame bothe of me and you, I suffered lenger then he woulde haue done me, speakyng the lyke. The clemencie of the kynges and princes consisteth not onely in theyr owne dyspositions, but in such as be vnder their subiection. For the rigour of suche as be rulers, is mitigated with humilitie. But when mennes myndes be voyde of reuerence and high and lowe be confounded all a like, then force is necessary to repulie violence. But why doe I marueile, that he layed cruelty to my charge, that durst object towardes

wardes me couetousnes: I will not call you to wit-
nes one by one, lest I should bzaide you with libera-
litie, by making declaration what I haue bestowed v-
pon you. Beholdethe whole multitude, whiche a litle
whyle agoe had nothyng els but theyr bare armour:
doe they not lye in syluer beddes: be not theyr tables
charged with plate, and possesse they not whole flockes
of slaues: They are not hable to sustayne the spoyles
of theyr enemies. But it is sayed, the Persians be ho-
noured of me, whome we haue conquered. Truly they
be so: and yet what greater proufe can there be of my
moderation, then that I doe not reygne proudlye ouer
suche as I haue subdued. I came into Asia not vt-
terlye to subuert the nations, nor to make the one halfe
of the world desert, but to geue the conquered cause not
to repent them of our victoery. This is the occasion they
gladlye fyght for you, and for your kyngdome spende
theyr bloude: whiche, if they were proudlye vbled, would
streyght rebell agaynst you. The possession is not du-
rable whiche is possessed by vyolence, but the thanks
of gentlenes receyued, endureth euerlastinglye. If we
purpose to enioye Asia, and not to make a progresse
through it, we must make them partakers of our cle-
mencye: and then theyr fidelitie shall make our empyre
stable and perpetuall. And truly we haue now more
then we can well wish or desyre. Couetousnes is an vn-
saciabie thing, specially when men desire to fil the vessel
that runneth ouer. But ye will say that I mixe & bzing
theyr customes emonges ours. It is so, & why: because
I see in diuers nations right many thinges whiche we
nede not be ashamed to follow. And so great an empire
as we haue gotē cannot otherwise be aptly gouerned, ex-
cept

cept we deliuer some thinges to them, & receiue likewise
 some thinges agayn. One thing is to be laught at, that
 I should refuse Iupiter for my father, being so acknow-
 leged by hys oracle: as who sayeth, the aunswere of the
 gods were in my power. He proffered the name of hys
 sonne vnto me, which was not a thyng vnmeet for the
 thynges we purposed. I woulde wishe that the Indi-
 ans beleued me to be a god: for the successe in warre sta-
 deth much by fame, and that whiche is falsely beleued,
 sometime worketh the effect of thynges true. Doe you
 note me geuen to excesse & prodigalitie, because I gar-
 nished your armour with gold and syluer? My purpose
 was to shew to men accustomied with such thinges, no-
 thing to be moze vile then suche kinde of mettall, and to
 declare that the Macedons inuincible in other thinges,
 could not be overcome with gold it selfe. After this ma-
 ner I shal blind the eyes of the barbarous, whiche are
 wont at y^e first sight to wonder at thinges, be they neuer
 so base & vile. And in that we shew to make no estimati-
 on of it, we shall declare to al men y^e we are not come for
 desire of gold nor siluer, but to subdue the whole world:
 fro which glory thou traytour, thou wouldest haue be-
 treaued me, & betrayed the Macedons (I beyng slayne)
 to the barbarous nations. I am exhorted, to spare your
 parêtes. Is it needeful I should make him priue what
 I haue determined of thē no I wil not: & to that intent
 he might dye with y^e greater dolour, if he hath any care
 or memory of them. It is lōg ago since I did fordoe the
 custome of putting thinnocēt parentes and kinsfolke of
 traitours to death with y^e offēders. And I now professe
 to pardō & haue thē al in y^e same estimatiō I had before.
 I knowe why thou wouldest haue thy maister Calistes-
 nes

nes brought fourth, whiche onely esteemed the beynge of
his sort: because thou desyrest to heare pronounced of
his mouth, those raylyng wordes, whiche cuen now
thou dydest spit out against me. If he had bene a Ma-
cedon borne, I had brought hym into the place with
thee: a worthy maister for suche a dysciple. But beynge
borne in another countrey, he is subiect to another law.
When he had spoken these wordes, he dymysed the
councell, and commaunded all suche as were condem-
ned, to be deliuered to þe souldiours of theyr owne ban-
des: Who because they would declare by some cruelty,
the loue they bare towardes theyr prince, slew them all
by tormentes. Calistenes also dyed vpon the racke, in-
nocent of the conspiracy against the kinges person: but
a man not plyable to the custome of the court, & abhor-
ring from the dysposition of flatterers. There was ne-
uer thing that brought the Greekes in greater indyga-
nation against Alexander, then that he not onely killed,
but caused to be tormented to deathe, and that without
iudgement, a man endued with godlye maners and
good sciences, by whome he was perswaded to lyue,
when he purposed to haue dyed for sorowe that he had
slayne Clytus: whiche his crueltye, repentaunce folo-
wed that came to late. But lest he myght nourish ydle-
nes, apte for soroyng of seditious rumours, he mar-
ched toward India, alwayes more glorious in warre
then after his victorie. The whole countrey of India
lyeth chieflie towardes the East; conteynyng more
in length, then it dothe in breadthe. The North par-
tes be full of mountaynes and hylles: but all the rest
of the land is playne, hauyng many fayre riuers, which
runnyng out of the mount Caucasus, doe passe plea-
sauntlye through the countrey. Indus is more colde
then

The descrip-
tion of India

Ganges.

Fertines.

Diardenes.

Ermanthus.

Ermanthus.

Ermanthus.

then anye of the other riuers, whose water is not vn-
lyke the colour of the Sea. But of all the riuers in the
orient, Ganges is most excellent: whiche running from
the South, passeth directly throught many great mou-
ntaynes, but yll that by the encountering of Rockes, his
course is turned toward the East, where it is recey-
ued into the red Sea: the violence of the streame bea-
keth downe his banks, swallowing in trees, and much
of the ground. In manye places the streame is kepte
in with Rockes, wherupon it beateth: But where the
grounde is more softe, there the Riuer becommeth
more large, and maketh manye Ilandes. The great-
nes of Ganges is much increased by Acesines, which
meete before they enter into the sea: At theyr meet-
ing the water is violently troubled, whyles the one respec-
teth the others entrie: neither of them seeme to geue
place to other. Diardenes is a riuer of the lesse fame,
because it runneth in the uttermost boundes of In-
dia: but yet it bringeth fourth Crocodiles, as the Nile
doth, and also Delphines, with monstres unknowne
to other nations. Crooked Ermanthus wyth his
manye turnynges and reflexions is consumed by the
inhabitours with wateryng theyr grounde, whiche
is the cause that when it draweth neare the sea, it be-
commeth verie litle, and beareth no name. There be
manye other Riuers that doe diuylde the countrey: but
none of them be so famous as these, because they doe
not runne so farre. The Northwinde doth blast and
harme most those partes that be next vnto the Sea:
But those wyndes be so broken with the toppes of the
mountaines, that they cannot endamage the inward
partes of the countrey: wherfore frutes be very plen-
tyfull there and perfit. But that region dothe differ

so muche from thordinary course of tyme in other partes
 of the worlde, that when other countreys be bur-
 ned moste with the sunne, India is covered ouer with
 snowe. And when other places be frozen, the heate is
 there most intolerable: and yet there appeareth not any
 naturall cause why it shoulde be so. The colour of the
 Indian Sea not differinge muche from the water of
 other seas, dyd take hys name of king Erithrus, wher-
 of the ignoraunt tooke opinion the water of those seas
 was redde. The lande is verye haboundant of flaxe,
 wherof the more parte of theyr garmentes be made.
 The twygges of the trees be so tender, that they re-
 ceive the prynt of letters like ware. The byrdes by sea-
 chynge, counterfeyt mennes portres. There be many
 beastes whiche are not bredde emonges other nati-
 ons. Rhinoceroses be there brought fourth, but not
 bredde. The Elephantes of that countrey be stronger
 then those that be made tame in Aphyke, and theyr
 bygnes doe aunswere vnto theyr strength. The wa-
 ter of the riuers doe cary downe gold, and runne mild-
 ly without any great fall. The Sea doth cast vpon the
 shoare both pearles and precious stones: wherof pro-
 ceeded the cause of theyr great ryches, after theyr mar-
 chandysse was once knowne to other nations: the pur-
 ginges of the seas being then esteemed, as manys fantasye
 would make the price. The dyspositions of the men (as
 in al other places) be according to the situation of the coun-
 treys they dwel in. They make their garmentes of lin-
 nen cloth, which couer their bodies downe to their feete.
 They bynde soles vnder theyr feete, and wrappe roules
 of linnen about theyr heades. Such as be in any degree
 either of nobilitie, or riches, haue precious stones han-
 gung at theyr eares, and couer all theyr armes with
 brace:

The voluptu-
ousnes and
excesse in the
kings of An-
dia.

bracelets and ornaments of golde. They vse great cu-
riosity in hemming of theyr heades, whiche they round
very seldome. They haue without any fowme of gra-
uitie, all partes of theyr face, sauynge theyr chinne. But
the excelle in voluptuousnes (whiche they call magni-
ficence) vbled by them, doth exceede the byces of all na-
tions. When theyr will is to be seene abroad, theyr
seruauntes carye aboute them perflumynge pannes of
syluer, and fylle all the wayes where they go with sweete
sauours: theyr selues be bozne in lytters of golde
hangynge ful of pearles, and the garmentes they weare
be of golde and purple empaled together. The armed
men follow theyr lytter, and suche as be of theyr garde-
among whome there be byrdes bozne vpon boughes,
whiche they haue taught alwayes to syng, when they
be occupied in earnest matters. In the kynges palace
there be pylers of golde carued about with wynges of
golde, wherein the ymages of those byrdes they delyght
most in, be artificially wrought. The court is open to
all commers, when the kynges do kembe and dresse
theyr headdes, then they vse to geue aunswere to the
Embassadours, and to doe iustice vnto theyr people.
When theyr soles be taken of, theyr feete be anoynted
with sweete odours. The greatest trauayle they take,
is when they hunt wyld beasts enclosed in Parkes,
whiche they strike whyles theyr Concubynes be syn-
gynge and dalyng with them. The arrowes that they
shoote be of two cubites longe, whiche doe not the ef-
fect of the force they be shot withall, by reason of theyr
weyght whiche is an impediment to theyr swyftnes,
wherin the property of the arrow chiefly consisteth. In
small iourneys they vse to tyde on horsebacke: but when
they haue to trauayle farther, they be caried vpon Ele-
phants,

phantes, whose huge bodies bee covered all over wyth golde. And because no vice shoulde wāt emonges their corrupte maners, great rowtes of concubines doe folow them in golden litters. The Quenes haue their bandes sepeate by them selues, whiche in all excessse of voluptuousnesse be nothing inferiour vnto þinges. It belongeth to the women there to dresse meat, & they also setue men of wine, wherof there is greate plentye emonges the Indians. When the kyng hath largelye dronke, and is fallen in a sleape: his Concubines be to carie him into his chamber, calling vpon their Goddess, wyth a songe after their countrie maner. Who woulde thinke that emonges all these vices, there were any regard had of vertue? There is emonge them a rude and an vniuil kinde of people, whom they call wise mē, whiche counte it the most gloriouse thyng to preuent their awne deathe: and they be to burne them selues whyles they bee a liue. It is imputed for a great shame to suche as either can not well stirre for age, or haue not theyr perfect health, if they prolonge their life till theyr naturall deathe appoche: For there is no honour giuen to those bodies that die for age. They thinke þe fires bee defiled, if the bodies be not alive that be burned in the. Suche as liue in cities after a ciuile maner, attaine to the moste apt knowledg of the starres mouing, and of the Prophecying of thynges to come. For they can not thinke that any man doth shorten hys life, that lokeþ for deathe without feare. They esteeme those for goddess, whome they beginne ouer to worshyp, and speciallie trees, the violatinge of the whiche, they forbidd vnder payne of deathe. They counte after fittie daies to the Moneth: and notwithstandinge theyr yerres, as they doe in other places. They note not theyr tymes

The wise mē
of India,

by suche course of the Moone, as is comonly vsed: that is from the full Moone, but fro the first quarter, when he beginneth first hoined: & by countinge after þ same manner, make than the horter. There bee many other thynges reported of the, with the which I thought not necessarye to interrupt þ ordre of this historie. As Alexander entred into India, the Princes of the countie came vnto him, submitinge them selues, and declaring that he was the thirde man that euer came emonges the, being begotten of Jupiter. They saied that Hercules & Bacchus was not knowen to them, but onely by fame, but they reioiced that they might beholde him presentlie with their eyes. Alexander receiued the wyth all gentlenesse he coulde deuise: & willed them to accompanie him, because he woulde vse them as guides in his iourney. But when he sawe that the whole nūbre came not, he sent Ephestion, & Perdiccas with part of his armie befoze, to subdue suche as woulde not submit them selues, and willed them to goe forwarde till they came to the riuer of Indus, & there to make boates, wherby he might transport his armie: And because they had to passe many riuers, the boates were so deuised, that they might be taken asonder to be caried in cartes, and after wardes ioined again together. He appointed Craterus to followe him with the Phalanx; and he wyth such horsemen and footemen as were light armed, went befoze, and beinge encountred in his waie, fought a small battaill, and did driue his enemies into the nexte Citie. When Craterus was come (to thintent he might strike terrour emonges those people that had not yet proued the Macedons force) he commaunded that when they warne the citie, they shoulde kyll both man, woman, and childe, & burne the same to the harde ground: But

whiles

whiles he ridd e about the walles, he was stricken with
an arrowe. Notwithstanding the citie was moue, and
all put to the swerde, the very houses not escaping the
victorious crueltie. After this he subdued an obscure
nacion, and came to a citie called *Pisa*. It chanced that
whyles they encamped in a wood befoze the citie, there
fell a colde in the nyght, that more afflicted the *Mace-*
dons, then euer it had done befoze in any other place.
Against the which, they prepared the remedy that was
next at hande, and cut downe the woods to make them
greate fires: The flame wherof caught the sepulchres
belonging to the citie, which by reason they were made
of Cedze, were soone set on fire, and neuer leste burning
till they were all consumed. That fire made bothe alarm
to the *Cytie*, and to the *Campe*: for thereby the *Cyti-*
zens iudged that their enemies would make some at-
tempt against them, and the *Macedons* perrepued by
the barking of the dogges, and noise of men, that the
Indians would saile out vpon them. Wherefoze *Alex-*
ander issuing out of his campe in order of battail slew
suche of them as attempted the fight. Therupon they
within the citie became of diuerse opinions: some were
minded to yelde, and other thought good to aduenture
the extremitie. When *Alexander* vnderstode of their di-
uision, he caused his men to absteyne from slaughter
and onely to mainteine the siege. At length they were so
weries with the discommodities of the warre, that they
yelded the selues. They affirmed their original to come
of *Bacchus*, who in deed builded their citie at the foote
of a mountaine called *Heroe*: The qualitie of whyche
mountaine being reported to *Alexander* by chynaby-
ters, he sent victuals befoze, & passed thither with his
whole armie, encampinge vpon the toppe thereof. The

The stile of
Pisa.

The mounte
Heroe.

mountayne grewe full of Vines and Iuyce, abounding
 with spryngs that flowed out in euery place. The same
 was also plentyfull of many kyndes of apples of moſte
 pleaſant taſte: the grounde alſo broughte fourth corne
 without any cultyuation. There grewe alſo plenty of
 Laurel trees, with many kyndes of wyld fruicte. I can
 not impute it to any mocyon of reſpygion, but rather to
 plenty and wantonnes, that cauſed the to repaire thy-
 ſer, where, of the Iuyce and the vyne leaues they made
 the ſelues garlandes, and ran vp and doune after a diſ-
 ſolute maner, all the hollowes and valleys there aboute
 rebounding with the voice of ſo many thouſandes, cal-
 ling vpon Bacchus, to whom that place was dedicate.
 Whiche licence & libertie begon of a fewe, was ſpreade
 ſo ſodeinlie throught the whole armie, that the ſoul-
 diours ſcattered abroad without ordre, laie here & there
 reſoling the ſelues vpon the graſſe, and leaues, & they
 had gathered together, as it had beene in a time of qui-
 et and moſt aſſured peace. Whiche licencioſnes of the
 ſouldiers riſinge by chaunce, Alexander dyd not with-
 ſtand, but ten daies together made feaſtes to Bacchus,
 during which time he plentifully banqueted his whole
 armie. Who can therefore denie, but that greatnes of
 fame and glozie, is oftentimes a benefite rather of for-
 tune then of vertue: for their enemyes had no harte to
 ſet vpon them, whyles they were drowned in thyſe ex-
 ceſſe of banquetinge, dronkenſhyp, and drowſines, but
 were as muche aſſailed of their dronken noiſe, as if they
 had hearde their crie encounteringe with them in battail:
 Whiche felicitie preſeruing them here, did afterwardeſ
 defende them after the ſame maner in the myddes of
 their enemyes, retournyng as it were in triumph from
 the Ocean Sea, when they were geuen all to feſtyng
 and

and to Dronkennes. When Alexander descended from the mountayne, he went to a countrey called Daedala, whiche the inhabiteurs forsooke and fled to the woodes, and the wylde mountaynes: and therfore he passed fro thence into Acadera, which he founde both burned and abandoned like wyle of thynhabiteurs: whereby of necessitie he was compelled to vse the warre after another maner. For he diuided his armie into diuerse partes, and shewed hys powre in many places at ones. By whiche meanes he oppzessed the befoze they coude prouide, and subdued the to their bitter ruine. Ptholomeus toke most cities: But Alexander wanne the greatest, and afterwardes ioined agayne his armie together, whiche he had thus dunded. That doone, he went forwarde and passed a riuer called Choaspe, where he left Cenon to besiege a riche citie called Bezira: and he himselfe went to Mazage, where Alacanus beyng dead had left the dominyon both of the Countrie, and the citie to hys mother Cleophes. There were .xxx. thousande sotemen to defende that citie, whiche both was well fortified and stronge of situacyon, beyng enclosed vpon the East with a swifte ryuer, hauing steape bankes defendynge the citie, that it coude not be approached on that syde. Upon the South and the West partes, nature (as it were for the nonce) had planted highe rockes lieng betwixte them, and deepe hollowes & pyttes made of olde antiquitie: wheras the rockes celled, there beganne a dike of a wounderfull depth & wydenesse. The wall wherewith the citie was enclosed, was xxxv. furlonges in compasse, wherof the nether partes were builded of stone, and the vpper partes of claie. Yet stones were mixed with the claie, to thintent that the fraile substaunce clinging to the harder, the one should

Daedala

Acadera.

Choaspe.

Bezira.
MazageQueene Cleo-
phes.

Blind.

Blind.

binde the other. And least the earth washed vpon wyth the raine might fall altogether, there were franchinges of timbre put betwixte to staie the whole worke: Which couered ouer with bozdes, was a waye for men to goe vpon.

Alexander beholdinge this kinde of fortificatiō, was vncertaine what to doe. For he sawe he coulde not ap-
proche to the walles, but by fillinge of those dikes, and
hollowe places: And that he could not otherwise fil the,
then by making of a mount, whiche was the onely way
he had to bringe hys engins to the walles. But whiles
he was viewynge the Towne after that maner, he was
stricken from the wall wyth an arrowe in the thighe.
Whiche he pulled oute, and without wrappinge of hys
wounde, called for hys horse, and lettred not for hys hurt
to giue ordre for suche thinges as he thought expedient.
But at length when by hanging of his legge, the bloud
druē from the wounde and waxed colde, whereby hys
hurt began to payne hym, he then saied that he was
called the sonne of Jupiter: but yet he felte in hym selfe
the passions of a diseased bodie. Notwythstandynge he
woulde not retorne into the campe, befoze he had view-
ed all thynges that were necessarye, and appoincted all
thynges he woulde haue doone. After that the soul-
diours had receiued their appointement, by pluckinge
downe of houses without the Towne, they gotte great
plentie of stuffe to make the mount wythall. And by
castynge stockes of trees on heapes into the dykes and
hollow: places, the mouit within nine daies was raised
vp to the toppe of the walles, and the towres were plā-
ted vpon the same: such was the laboure, and diligence
the souldiours vsed in the matter.

The kinge befoze his wounde was closed vp, went to
see

see how the workes went forward: and when he perceived them in such case, commended the souldiours for their diligence, and caused thinges to be brought to the walles, out of the whiche they that defended the walles were sore afflicted with shotte. And by reason they had not seene any such kinde of worke before, were wonderfullie amased: speciallie when they behelde the towres of such bignesse come forwardes, & yet could not perceiue by what meanes they were moued, iudged those thinges to be doen by the powre of the Goddes. And besides they could not thinke it a matter of mans inuencion, that so great dartes and speares, as came amonges them, should be shotte by engines: despering therefore of the defence of theyr citie, they retired into the castle. And because they could not be satisfied any maner of waye till they had yelded them selues, they set Embassadours to the kyng to aske pardō: Which thing obtained at hys hande, the Quene with a great traine of noble women came fourth, bearyng in their handes cuppes of golde full of wine: Who presentinge her litle sonne, before the kynges feete, not onely obtained pardō, but also restozement of her former dignitie. Wherefore some thought that her beaوتي procured her more fauour, then hys mercie: But thys is certayne that the childe, whiche afterwarde she brought fourth (whosoever did beget it) was called Alexander. Fro this place Polipercon was sent with a powre vnto a citie called Roza, where he ouerthrewe in battayll thynhabytters & Roza encountred wyth hym, whereby he gotte the citie into hys possession. There were many other Cities obscure of fame, that came into Alexanders handes by thabandoning of the inhabitants, whiche assembled them selues together in armour & kept a rocke called Bozimis. The

The rocke
called Do-
nis.

fame was that Hercules had besieged the same before time in vaine, and by reason of an earthquake enforced to departe. When Alexander viewed this rocke, & sawe howe steape it was and unpasseable, became voyde of counsaile, till suche tyme as an olde man that knew wel the place, came to hym with his two sonnes, offering for a rewarde to guide his men by a waye vp to the toppe.

Alexander promised them .iiii. score talentes, and keeping one of hys sonnes as pledge, sent hym to performe that he had promised. Mullinus the kynges secretarie was appointed with certaine souldiours lyght armed, to folowe the guide, whose purpose was to deceiue the Indians by fetchinge a compasse aboute the rocke. But the same rocke was not, as the more parte be, whiche lying alioape, hath waies vp vnto the toppe by degrees. For it stoode bolte vp right after the fashion of a but, broad beneth, and euer as it grewe vptwarde, lesse and lesse, till it became sharpe in the toppe: And it was enclosed on the one side with the riuier of Indus, hauing hyghe and steape bankes, and vpon the other side with deepe dikes and hollowe places, full of water and mudde. Wherefore there coulde be deuised no way to winne it, except those dikes were first filled. There was a wood at hande, whiche the kyng commanded to bee cut downe, and causinge the bowes to be shred of for the carpage, fylled the hollowes with the bare stokes. Alexander bare the first tree, and all the souldiers followed after with a couragious shout: for there was no man that woulde refuse to doe that they sawe the kyng beginne: So that within .vii. dayes the dikes & hollowe places were filled vp. Then the kyng appointed the Agrians, and the archers to goe to the assaulte, and did chose .xxx. young men of such as he iudged most apt

apt for the purpose out of his owne bande, appoynting Charus, & one Alexander to be theyr conducters, & exhorted Alexander by the remembrance of his name myght make him hardy. At first because the hasard was so manifest, the king was not determined to adventure his own person. But when the trumpet blew to the assault, he was of such a ready courage, that he could not abstaine, but making a signe to his guard that they should follow hym, was the first that set foote vpon the rocke. Then there were fewe contented to tary behind, but many left their array where as they stood in order of battail, & followed the king. The chaunce of manye was miserable, whome the running riuer swallowed in, when they fell downe from the rocke: Whiche sight was sorrowfull to such as were out of danger, being admonished by the perill of other, what they ought to feare the selues: here vpon their compassion being turned into feare, lamented aswel them selues, as those whome they saw dye before theyr faces. At length they went so farre fourth, that without the getting of the rocke they could not retire backe againe without their great destruction. For their enemies rowled downe great stones vpon them, wherewith they were easely beaten downe, by reason the rocke had so slipper and vnsable standyng. Yet for all that, Charus and Alexander, which were appoynted to the leading of the thyrtye chosen souldiours, had gotten to the toppe, and beganne to fyghte hande to hande. But there were so manye dartes cast at them from a farre, that they receiued no woundes, then they could geue. Wherfore Alexander bothe mindfull of his name, and of his promise, whyles he fought more eagerly then warily, was enclosed about, and slayne. Whome when Charus saw dead, he ranne vpon his enemyes, and

Charus and
Alexander.

and bnmindfull of all thinges, sauing of reuenge, slewe many with his pike, & diuers with his swoorde. But being laied at by so many at ones, he fell downe dead vpon the body of his friend. The death of these two so hardye young men, and of the rest, moued Alexander greatly: yet perceiuing no remedye in the matter, caused the re-
treict to be sounded. It was greatly for theyr sauegard, that they retyred by litle and litle without appareance of any feare. And the Indians contented to haue repul-
sed theyr enemyes, pursued not after them. Alexander herupon was determined to leaue of hys purpose, seing he sawe no hoape how to winne the rocke: yet he made a countenance as though he ment to continue the siege
styll. For both he caused the wayes to be closed vp, and made an appoche with towers of woode, alwaies put-
ting freshe men in place of them that were weried. When the Indians perceyued Alexanders obstynacye, two
daies and two nyghtes they banquetted continually, and played vpon tymbrels after theyr maner, to cause theyr enemyes thynke that they had no doubt in the
siege, but trusted surelye to preuaile. The thyrde nyght the noyse of theyr tymbrels cessed, & many torches were
seene burning, whiche the Indians had lyghted to see whiche waye they might escape downe the rocke in the
darke nyght. Alexander sent Balacrus to dyscouer the
matter, who found that the Indians were fledde, and that the rocke was abandoned. Then a sygne was ge-
uen that the whole armye shoulde geue a shoute toge-
ther, wherby they did stryke suche feare enonges theyr enemyes flyeng without order, that many of them thin-
king theyr enemyes at theyr backes, leaped downe the
rockes and slewe them selues, wherof some maymed
in theyr fallynge were left behynde by theyr fellows
that

Balacrus.

that fledde awaye. Thus the kyng being victour of the place, rather then of the men, testified notwithstanding, with solempne sacrifices vnto the goddess a greatness of victorie, and set vp Alters vpon the rocke to Minerva and Victoria.

And though the guides that he appointed to his light armed men, performed not so much as they promised, yet theyr rewarde was truly geuen them. And the rule of the rocke with the countrey theraboutes was committed to Silocostus, he hym selfe goyng forwarde with his army fro thence to Echolima. But vnderstandyng that certayne streights through the whiche he shoulde passe, were kept by one Erix with twenty thousand armed men: he committed that part of his army that were heauy armed to Cenō, to be brought on by soft iourneys, and going before in person with the syngers and Archers, put his enemies to flight, making the way cleare for his army to passe that folowed after. The Indians, whether it were for the hatred they bare vnto their capitaine, or els for to get the fauour of the victour, kylled Erix as he fled awaye, & brought his head, & his armour vnto Alexander. He considering the foulness of the acte, would not honour the doers for the sauple sake, nor punish them because they serued his purpose. From thence by .xvi. remouynges he came to þe part of the riuer of Indus, where Ephestiō had prepared all things in such sort as he had commission. One Dinphis was king of þe countrey, which before had perswaded his father to submyt hym selfe vnto Alexander. Who immediately vpon his fathers death sent Embassadors vnto hym to knowe his pleasure, whether he shoulde take vpon him as a kyng before his comming, or els lyue priuately in the meane seasō: And although it was permitted

Silocostus.
Echolima.

Erix.

Omphis one
of the kinges
of India.

mitted hym to gouerne as a king, yet he woulde not hse
the auctoritie þ was graunted hym. He had caused E-
phestio to be receiued in the best sort he could deuise, but
not withstanding had not visited him, because he would
not commit his person to anye mans fidelitie but to the
kynges. Whe he vnderstoode of Alexanders comming,
he went towardes hym with hys whole power: Whose
Elephantes by small distaunces mixed in battail emoges
his footemen, shewed a sorte of lyke castels. At the fyrst
Alexander dyd not take him as a frend, but as an ene-
my, and therfore set his men in order of battayl, and his
horses in winges in readines for to fight. When Om-
phis vnderstoode the errour of the Macedons, he com-
maunded his men to stape, and putting hys spurres to
his horse, ridde forwarde alone. Alexander did the like,
putting no doubt whether he were a frend or an enemy,
but thought him selfe sure, either through his own mā-
hode, or the others fidelitie. Theyr meetyng as it ap-
peared by theyr countenaunces was very frendlye: but
for want of an interpretour, they could not speake toge-
thers. Therfore after they had called one vnto them,
the Indian king declared vnto Alexander that the cause
he mette hym with an armie was to put immediatlye
his whole power into his hādes, and had not (he saied)
taried to treate for any assurance by messengers, but
vpon trust ouely had committed both his person & hys
kyngdome to him, whome he knew to make warre for
the winning of glozy and fame, and therfore could not
fearc in him any perfidie. Alexander reioyced to see hys
simplicite, and profered him his right hand as pledge
of his promise, & restored to him againe hys kyngdome.
He presented vnto Alexander. lvi. Elephantes with ma-
ny other beastes of exceeding greatnes, & thye thousand
bulles,

bulles, whiche is a cattell of great balue in those countreyes, and much esteemed of kinges. Alexander enquired of hym whether he had vnder hys dominion moze souldiours, or tyllers of the ground. He answered that he was driuen of necessitie to haue moze souldiours, because he was at warre with two kynges, whose kyngdomes lay beyond the riuer of Hydaspis. Their names were Abisares, and Porus: but the auctoritie remayned in Porus: And saied that he was prepared, and resolved to aduenture the hasard of the battaile with such of them, as should inuade him first. Herupō Alexander graunted vnto Omphis, both to take vpo him the dyademe, and the name of his father that was called Taxiles: the custome of the countrey beyng suche, that the name euer folowed the kingdome who soeuer enioyed it. Whē he had receiued Alexander honourablye in hospitalitie three daies, the fourth day declaring how much corne he had deliuered to Ephestion & to his army, presented to the king & to all hys frendes crownes of golde, and besydes of coyned siluer. lxxx. talentes. Alexander reioiced so much in his good wil, that he both returned againe to him his gytes, & gaue him besides a thousand talentes of the spoyle he brought with hym, with muche plate of golde & siluer, many garmentes after the Persian maner, and. xxx. of hys owne hoxses, with the same furnimentes they ware, when he dyd ryde vpon them: Whiche liberalitie as it bounde Omphis, so it greatlye offended the myndes of the Macedons. For Meleager at supper when he had well dronke: sayed he was verye glad that Alexander had yet founde one in India, whome he iudged worthy to receiue the gyft of a thousand talentes. The king bearing in mynd, howe muche he had repented the slayeng of Clytus for the rashenes of

King Abia-
lars.

King Porus

Barzentes.

Gamarys.

of hys tongue, refrayned hys anger, but yet tolde hym that enuyous men were euer tormentours to them sel- ues. The next day the Embassadours of kynge Abialars came vnto Alexander, who according to theyr com- mission offered all thinges vnto his will: Wherupon promise and assuraunce beyng confyrmed, they retourned againe to theyr maister. Alexander therfore thyn- kyng that through the greatnes of hys name, Porus myght be brought to doe the lyke, sent Cleochares to hym for to demaunde tribute, and to sommone hym to come and make his homage, when he should enter the boundes of hys kingdome. Porus made aunswere that of those two requestes he woulde perfourme one, which was to meete him at þe entrie of his kynge dōme, but that should be in armes and with a power. Alexander ther- fore beyng determined to passe the riuer of Hydaspis, Barzentes þe had bene auctour of the rebellio emonges the Arachosians, was takē and brought to him bounde with .xxx. Elephātes: an apt assistance against the In- diās, that were wout to put moze trust in those beastes, then in the force of theyr owne nation. Gamarys king of a small portion of India, whiche had confederated with Barzentes, was brought lykewyse bounde vnto hym. Wherfore committing them both to prison, and the Elephātes to Dymphis, came vnto þe riuer of Hydaspis. But Porus laye in campe on the fether syde to let hys passage, hauing .iiii. score. v. Elephātes of huge strenght of body. CCC. wagons of warre, & .xxx. M. footemen, emonges whō there were many archers, whose shaftes (as hath bene saied before) were moze heauye then they could wel weld. Porus himselfe did ride vpon an Ele- phant greater then all the rest, who also being of a byg- stature, appeared notable in his armour that was gar- nished

nished with gold & silver, hauing also a courage equall to the strength of his body, and so great a wisdom, as was possible to be found amonges such rude nations.

The Macedons were not so muche affrayed with the sight of their enemies, as they were with the greatnes of the riuer that they had to passe, whiche beyng foure furlonges in breadth, and so deepe that no foode could be founde, appeared to them lyke a great Sea. And yet the largenesse therof mitygated nothyng the violence of the streame, but ranne with no lesse furpe, then if it had bene narrowe, appearng by the repercussion of the water in many places, to be full of great stones in the bottome. This riuer being sufficient to feare the of it selfe: the syght of the ferther banke full of horse and men, was an encrease of theyr terrour: Where the Elephantes that had bodyes of vnrasonable greatnesse stood in theyr syght, beyng prouoked to braye of purpose, to thynke that with theyr terrible noyse, they shoulde fyll theyr enemies eares full of feare. Though the Macedons were couragious & had their hartes full of good hope, as they which often times had had experience of theyr owne actes: Yet theyr enemies, and the riuer both together made them wonderfullie amased. For they could not thinke how to kepe a stedfast course to the ferther shoare in so weake and totteryng boates, nor when they were there, coulde see howe to arryue with suretie. There were many Ilandes in the middes of the riuer, into the whiche bothe the Indians and the Macedons dyd swymme, holdyng theyr weapons aboue theyr heades: there they skymished together in the syghte of bothe Kynges, whiche by experment of suche small thynges, made tryall of the successe of the whole. But amonges all the Macedons there were two noble

The riuer of Hydaspis,

1268
120
Simmachus
Nicanor

The policie
Alexander be-
sed in passyng
of Hydaspis.

noble young men called Simmachus and Nicanor ex-
celling in boldnesse and in desperate attemptes: whiche
through theyr continuall good fortune, had gotten a
courage to despise all peryll. Other young men of the
most hardiest, tooke them for theyr Capitaynes, and
without any other armour (sauing theyr pykes) swome
ouer into an Iland beyng full of theyr enemyes, where
throughe boldnesse onely, they slewe many of them, and
so myght haue returned with gloze, if rashnes (where
it fyndeth prosperous successe,) coulde euer be content
with measure. But whyles with skorne and pryde they
taried for theyr enemyes, they were sodenly enclosed
of suche as priuely swomme ouer the riuer, and were
kylled with darter, whiche they cast at them from a
farre. Suche as in thys case escaped theyr enemyes,
were eyther drowned with the vyolence of the water,
or the eddies of the streame. Thys fight put Porus in
great courage, that saw all theyr doinges from the fer-
ther shoare: And though Alexander was long bucer-
teyne what waye to take, yet at length he deceyued his
enemye by this policie. There was an Iland in the ri-
uer greater then the rest, and apt to hyde his deuyse, by
reason it was full of woode, & had a great rampire cast
bpon that banke, & was towardes his enemyes: There
both his footemen, and horsemen might stande couered
from the sight of Thindians: & the rather to turne their
eyes another way from the sight out of that oportunitie,
he caused Ptholomeus with a great numbze of hys
horsemen to shew the selues agaynst theyr enemyes farre
of from the Iland, & to put the Indians in feare of their
cry, making enet a shew as though they would swimme
ouer the riuer. Which thing Ptholomeus did many daies
continually together, to thintent that Porus should be
enfor-

enforced to remoue hys powre to that part to withstād hym, and by that meanes brought them out of the sight of the Ilande. Alexander also caused hys owne pavilion to be set vpon the riuers syde ouer agaynst the enemies, & all the pompe that pertained to the state of a Kyng to be set fourth within theyr biewe, wpyth þe same bande standinge in sight, whiche was wont to remaine about hys persone. Furthermoze Attalus, that was equall wityh Alexander in yeares, and like to hym of face & personage, stode thre opely appareled like a kinge, that it might appere to Porus, that Alexander was still remaining there, and went not about to passe the Ryuer. The execution of this deuise was firste letted by a Tempest, whereby afterwarde it was furthered, and brought to good effect: fortune euer vying to tourne her discommodities, into good successe towardes hym. For when the enemies were thus attente to obserue Ptholomeus that laie beneth vpon the riuer agaynst theym:

And Alexander wityh the rest of the armie, busie aboute the passynge of hys men into the Ilande befoze mencioned: There fell sodeinlie a great stozine, scarce-lye tolerable to suche as laie wityhin their cabbaines, whiche so muche afflicted the souldyours abrode, that they sozoke theyr boates, and fled agayne to lande. And yet soz al this, their clamour, and theyr noise was not heard of theyr encynyes thzough the beheinnencie of the shoure. As this tempest began sodeinlie, so it sodeinlye celled: but the Cloudes remained so darke, that there appered not so muche lighte, as the souldiours myght know one another by the face, whē they spake together: Whiche Darkenesse might haue feared some other man: consideringe they had to rowe in a Riuer & they knewe not, theyr enemies (paraduenture) waitynge for theym

at their landing, whether they went, as blind men that
 for glory fought for perill. But Alexander blessed þe thing
 that put other men in terrour, to serue for hys purpose,
 and willed that euery man (vpon a signe geuen) should
 entre into theyr boates with silence: hys boate was the
 first that launched from the shore, towarde the further
 side that was boide of hys enemies, Porus onely kee-
 ping hys watche againste Ptholomeus. There was
 but one boate that sticke fast by the waie vpon a rocke,
 & althoother recovered the lande. Alexander then commaū-
 ded þe souldiers to prepare their armour, & sal into arraie:
 And whylest he was diuiding his men, to put them in
 orde of battail, marching toward his enemies: it was
 reported to Porus, that a great nūbre of men of Warre
 were come ouer the Riuer, and landed, whiche woulde
 streight waies geue him the battail. But he at the first
 (accozding to þe fault that is mannes nature throughe
 the ouermuche confidēce that he had in hym selfe) bele-
 ued not the matter, but thought that Abiasares which
 was confederate with him, had come in hys assistaūce.
 Yet when the daye appeared, and the matter was ma-
 nifest, Porus then put fourth. Carmed wagons, and. 4
 M. horsemen, vnder the leading of Hages his brother,
 to kepe Alexander doing. They counted those wagons
 their principall force: for euery one of them carried syxe
 men. ii. Archers, two with tergettes, and. ii. that ruled
 the horses, which were not vnarmed: but when it came
 to the fight, they let their reines loose, & bestowed their
 dartes among their enemies. But thuse of those Wa-
 gons serued that daie to small purpose: for the showre
 that had fallen moze violentlie then was accustomed,
 had made the fieldes so wet, and slabbie, that the Wa-
 gons could not stirre, but sticke in the mire, and became
 immo-

The battail
 betwixt Por-
 us and Alex-
 ander.

Hages Por-
 us, brother

immouable: Whereas Alexander being without baggage, or any thing that might bee an impediment vnto him, fiercely inuaded his enemies. The Scythians, and the Dahans were the first that gaue thonsel: and Perdiccas was appointed with the horsemen to charge vpon the right hande battaile of the Indians. When the battailes beginninge to ioigne in all partes, they had the charge of the wagons, counting the last refuge, flacked theyr raines, and rushed forwarde into the midst of the fight. The coming of these wagons appeared to be a matter dangerous, and doubtfull to bothe parties. For at the first burst, bothe the Macedons were borne ouer, and ouerthrowen by theym: and when the wagons came in any rowghe, or mirie places, the Indians were throwen out of them. For when the horses that drew them, were ones galled, and put in feare: they caried the wagons without gouernment, and tumbled part in the mire, and part in the riuer: A fewe trauesed the fieldes, and fled for succour vnto Porus: who seeing his wagons scattred ouer all the fieldes, and wander about without their rulers, distributed the charge of his Elephantes amongest his frendes, and placed his footemen, and archers behinde them. He had many that sounded vpon Timbrelles, (being Instrumentes that the Indians vse in steede of Trompettes) wherewith theyr eares were so filled, that the noise of theyr enemies litle moued them. They bare also the Image of Hercules in the front of theyr foote battail, whiche was done for an encouragemēt for them to fight well, & for a note of reprofe, & offence to them that should flie from that their standarde. For it was losse of life to them that leete it in the field. So that the feare whiche they conceiued of Hercules that sometime had beene their enemy, was

then turned into a veneratiō, and a religion. The sight both of the Elephantes, and Porus himselfe, astonied the Macedons, and caused theim a while to staye. For the beastes being set in ordre emonges the armed men shewed a farre of like high towres, and Porus hymself exceeding in maner the stature of many, the Elephant wherupon he dyd ryde, was a settinge fourth vnto, hys bignesse, which excelled so muche al the other Elephantes, as he himselfe excelled the rest of men: So that Alexander beholdinge both Porus, and hys power, sayed, that at lēgth he had found a perill equall vnto hys hart. For we haue to doe (quod he) both with terrible beastes, and with notable men of warre: And therupon looked towardes Cenon, and sayed vnto hym: When I with Ptholomeus, Perdicas, and Ephestion, shall set vpon the left battayle of our enemyes, & yow shall see vs in the heate of ihe fighte, doe you then set forwarde my right battaile: and freshlie assaile them, when you see them begin to fall out of ordre. Antigonus, Leonatus, and Tauron, doe you bende against their maine battaile, and set vpon their fronte. Our pikes be long, and strong, & cānot serue to any better vse, then agaynst the Elephantes, wherwith they may be thrust thzough, and suche ouerthrowen, as be caried bpō their backs. The Elephantes bee but an vncerteyne force, whiche vse to doe most harme to theyr owne parte: for as they vse to go against their enemies so longe as they be at commaundement: so when they bee once putte in feare, they tourne agaynst their owne side, and shewe moste rage towardes theym. He had not so soone spoken those wordes, but he put spurres to his horse, passing against his enemies: and when, according to hys appointment he had geuen the charge, Cenus wyth a greate force
broke

broke vpon the left battaile. And the Phalanx at the same instāt broke in emongest the middelt of their enemies. When Porus sawe the horsēmē gaue the charge, he put forwarde his Elephantes to encountre theym.

But they beyng slowe beastes, and not apte sodaynly to moue, were pzeuented by the swiftenes of the horsēs: and theyr bowes stode not them in any great steade: for by reason their arrowes were so longe, and heavy, that they could not nocke them within theyr bowes, except they staied first theyr bowes vpon the ground, and the ground being so slipperie that they coulde haue no perfite foting: whilest they were preparynge the selues to shoote, theyr enemyes were come emōges them. The cuery man fled from thordre that Porus had geuen, as it chaūceth oftētimes emōgest troubled mindes, where feare beareth moze rule, then the Capitaines appointment. For in so many partes as their armie was dyuyded, so many generalles became emōges them. Some woulde iougue all theyr battailes in one, other woulde haue them deuided. Some willed to stay, & other to go forwarde, and enclose theyr enemyes about: There was no general consultatiō emongest the. Porus notwithstanding accompanied with a few (with whome shame pzeuailed moze then feare) assembled such together, as were disperkled abroad, and went forwarde against hys enemyes, setting his Elephantes in the front of the battaile.

The confusio
that fell emōg
Porusmen.

They put the Macedons in feare, troubling with their vndwonted crie, not onely the horse, that naturallie do feare them, but also amased the men, and dysturbed theyr order: Insomuche that they whiche a litle before thought themselues victours, looked aboute whyche waye to flie, and saue themselues: Whyche thyng

when Alexander perceiued, he sent against the Elephantes, the Agrians, and Thracians, that were men lighte armed, and apter to skirmishe a farre of, then to fighte hande to hande. They gaue the Elephantes, and their Gouvernours muche a doe, and soze afflicted them withe y^e multitude of theyr dartes, and arrowes that they bestowed emongest them: And the Phalang came constantlye forwarde against them that were in feare. But suche as pressed ouer forwarde in sygh-tinge with the Elephantes, procured their manifest destruction: who being trampled to deathe with their feete were an example to other, not to bee ouer hastie in ad-uenturinge themselues. The most terrible sight was, when the Elephantes with their long trunks called Proboscides, tooke men in theyr armour from y^e ground, and deliuered them vp to theyr gouernours. The battaile was prolonged doubtfullye, tyll the daye was farre spent: the souldiours sometime flicinge from the Elephantes, and sometime pursuinge after them, vntill that wyth a certaine kinde of crooked weapons called copidae, (prepared for y^e purpose) they cut y^e Elephantes vpon the legges. Those the Macedons had ryght aptly deuised: for not onely the feare of deathe, but also the feare of a newe kinde of torment in death, caused them to leaue nothing vnproued. Finally the elephantes were ried wyth woundes, with theyr violente struglyng did cast theyr gouernours to the earth, and tare them in pieces: for they were put in suche feare, that they were no more hurtfull to theyr enemyes, but driuen oute of y^e battaile like shepe.

Porus being forsaken of the more parte of his men cessed not to cast dartes, wherof he had plenty prepared vpon his Elephant, emongest theym that flocked a-
bout

bout hym: wherby he wounding many, by reaso he laie open to euery mannes blowe, was laied at on all partes, tpll he had receiued nine woundes behinde, and before, thzough the whiche he bled somuch, that he had no power to cast any more, but for feblenesse they fell out of his handes.

The Elephante also whiche he did ride vpon, pricked forwarde with furie, made a greate disturbaunce amongst the Macedons, vntill that hys gouernoure seinge the kyng so fainte, that he lette falle his Dartes, and to be almoste past hys remembraunce, stirred the beaste to flie awaie, whom Alexander folowed in all that he myght: but hys horse that was thrust in wyth many woundes, fell downe dead vnder hym: Wherefore whiles he was about to chaunge, and take another, was cast farre behynde. In the meane season Taxiles brother, that was sente by Alexander vnto Porus, began to exhort hym that he shoulde not bee so obstinate to proue the extremitie, but rather yelde himselfe vnto the victour. But he notwithstandinge that his strength was neere past, and hys bloude failled, yet stirred vp at a knowen voyce, saied, that he knewe him to bee the brother of Taxiles, a traitour to hys kyng and hys countreie, and with that worde tooke a darte whiche by chaunce was not fallen awaye, and threw it so at Taxiles brother, that it passed through the myddest of hys breste vnto hys backe. And hauing shewed this laste prooue of hys manhoode, fled againe more faste then before: But when the Elephant, thzough many woundes that he had receiued, fainted in lyke sorte, then he staid, & turned his footemen towarde his enemies that pursued.

By that tyme Alexander was come nere hym, who

Bb.iiii.

vnder=

vnderstanding the wilfulnesse of Porus, willed none to
bee spared that made resistance: Wherupon euery man
thzue dartes against Porus, and suche footemen as
stoode in his defence: wherwith at length he was oppres-
sed, that he began to fall from his Elephante. Then the
Indian which was his gouernour, thinking that Po-
rus desired to haue lighted, caused the beaste after hys
accustomed maner to bende towarde the earth, whiche
submitting himselfe, all the rest as they were taughte,
bowed downe theyr bodies likewise, whiche was the
cause of Porus taking, and of the reste. When Alexan-
der saue Porus bodie vpon the ground, caused hym to
bee spoiled, thinking he had beene dead, & diuers ranne
about him to pul of his harnais, and his besture: which
thyng when the Elephant saue, he began to defende
his maister, running vpon his spoilers, and wēt about
to lifte him againe vpon hys backe: wherupon they all
settinge vpon the Elephant slue him, and laied Porus
in a carte: Whome when Alexander did beholde, lifting
vp hys eyes, & moued with no hatred, but with cōpassiō
saied vnto him: what mischief, & madnesse was in thy
minde, hering of the fame of mine actes, to hasarde the
battaill with mee, and my power, seing Tarles was so
neere an example of the clemencie that I vse to suche
as submit themselves: To whome he made answere:
For so muche (quod he) as I am demaunded a questyon,
I will aunswere as freely as I am spoken vnto: know-
ing myne owne strengthe, and not hauing yea proued
thine, I thought no man of greater power then myselfe:
but now the successe of this batttaile hath declared thee
to be mightier: And yet therein I doe impute to myselfe
not a litle felicitie, that I haue wonne the second place
and am next vnto the.

Alexanders
wordes to
Porus

Porus ans-
were,

He was asked moze ouer his opinion, after what manner he thought good the victoꝝy shoulde be bled. Use it (quod he) after suche sorte, as this dayes fortune shall put in thy mind, wherin there hath bene sufficiēt pꝛooꝛe shewed, how transitoꝝy the felicitie of man is. This admonishment auailed him moze, then if he had submitted him selfe, oꝛ made any suite. For when Alexander sawe the greatnes of his courage, and his harte so voyde of feare, that it coulde not be broken with any aduersitie, was moued not onely to geue him his lyfe, but also honourably to enterteyne him. For so long as he lay diseased of his woundes, he tooke no lesse care of his curyng, then if he had fought in his quarell. And when he was once healed (contrary to that which all men looked for) he receiued him emong the number of his frendes, and enlarged his kingdome greater thē befoꝛe. There was nothyng in Alexanders nature moze perfect, oꝛ moze constaunt, then that he woulde euer haue vertue in admiration, whē it was suche, that it deserued true pꝛaile, and gloꝛye: and specially when he sawe the same in his enemy. For when it chaūsed in any of his owne men, it was somewhat terrible vnto him, thinking that theyꝛ fame myght be a destruction to his owne greatnes, which he euer thought to grow greater, as they were of greatnes that he subdued.

(::)

The ninth booke

of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.



Alexander reioysyng in so notable a victory, wherby he saw the confines of the Orient opened vnto him, offered vp sacrifice vnto the sunne: and to cause hys souldiours to be moze willing to goe forwarde in anything the rest of the warres, assembled the together, and (after he had commended theyr doinges) declared how in that latter battayle, they had defeated, and broken the force of all Thindians power, & should find from thencefourth nothyng but a plentifull praye. For he sayed that in the countrey wherunto he was going, the riches chiefly remayned, that was so much spoken of throughtout the whole worlde, in respect wherof, the spoyles of the Persians were but vyle, & baggage: and that occasion was now geuen the, not onely to fill theyr owne houses, but also all Macedonia, & Grece with pearles, with precious stones, with golde, & with Iuoye. The souldiours being desirous bothe of riches and of glory, because they had neuer found his wordes bayne, promised him to doe what soeuer he would haue them: wherupon he dimissed them full of good hoape, and set them about the makynge of shyppes, to thintent that hauing overrunne all Asia, he might visite the Ocean sea, that was in the ende of all the worlde.

The mountaines nexte at hande were plentifull
of

of Timber to make shippes withall, in cutting downe wherof the Macedons found serpentes of such bignes, as they had not seene befoze, and also Rhinocerotes, beastes that be seldome found in any other place, which name was geue to them by the Greckes: for in the Indian language they are otherwise called. Alexander builded a cite vpo either side of þe riuer of Hydaspes, which once perfozmed, he gaue to euery one of his capitaines a crowne of gold, and a thousand peeces of gold besides: preferring, and rewarding euerye other, accorðyng to their qualitie, degree, and deseruyng.

Abiasares, whiche had sent Embassadours vnto Alexander befoze the battayle fought with Porus, sent then embassadours to hym againe, offering to doe all thinges þe he would appoint, so þe he might kepe his body at libertie: for he desyzed not to liue, except he myght remain a king: & he thought himself vnmeete to reigne, after he had bene once a captiue. He signified againe to Abiasares, that if his commyng should be greuous, he woulde not stycke to visite him in person. Hauing thus banquished Porus, & passed the riuer of Hydaspes, he went forwarde into þe inward partes of India, whiche was a countrey full of great woodes, & hygh trees, the ayze very holsome, & temperate, the shadow of the trees mitigating þe heate of the sunne, & the plenty of springes keeping the ground moist: There were also manye serpentes seene, whose scales glistered lyke golde. There was nothing moze daungerous, then the poison proceeding from them: for immediatly vpo the stinging, death followed, till such time as th inhabitours of þe countrey shewed a remedye. From thence throughe desertes they came vnto the great riuer of Hyarotis, wher vnto there ioigned a great woode, which hauing such
trees

trees as are not wont to be seene in other places, was also full of wyld pecockes. Alexander remouyng hys campe from thence, wan a towne by assault, & takyng pledges, appoynted them to paye tribute: After that he came to a great citie (after the maner of that countrey) whiche was both well walled, & also enuironed aboute with a marrisse. Thynhabitauntes came fourth against Alexander, and ioigning theyr cartes together in a frōt (wherin their custome was to fight) they profered hym the battaile. Some occupied dartes, some speares, and other axes, and with great agilitie leaped to and fro, to theyr cartes, when either they woulde relieue their fel- lowes that were wery of fighting, or els succour, or res- cue suche as were in dystresse. Thys vnwonted kynde of fyghting put the Macedons at the fyrst in feare, spe- cialllye being hurt as farre of by theyr enemies, & not ha- ble to come to hand strykes with them. But after they had considered theyr disordred maner, they esteemed not theyr force, but enclosed theyr enemies about, and thrust them in with pykes: & the sooner to defeate them, they cut the bandes, wherewith the cartes were tyed, to sepe- rate them a sonder. Whē they had after that maner lost viii. C. of theyr men, they fled again into the citie, which the next day the Macedons did winne by assault. Cer- teyne there were þe saued them selues by flyng, whiche seeyng the citie lost, swomme ouer the water, and fyl- led all the townes there about with feare. They decla- red of what inuincible force theyr enemies were of, iud- gyng them in respecte of theyr power, rather Goddes then men. When Alexander had gotten that citie, he sent Perdicas with a parte of hys armye to destroye the countrey, and commyttynge another part to Cume- nes for the subduyng of suche as woulde not become

Cumens.

obe

bedient, he with the rest of his power came vnto a strōg
 citie, which was the refuge of all the coūtreys therabout.
 Notwithstanding that the inhabitauntes sent to Alex-
 ander for peace, yet they prepared neuertheles for the
 warre, by reason of a sedition which rose emongest the,
 that made them to be of dyuers opiniōs: Some would
 rather haue endured any extremitie then to yelde, and The ruler of
Hidaspis,
 other thought they were not hable to make resistaunce:
 and whylest they differed so in opinions, and made no
 commen consultation emongest them selues: Such as
 helde opinion to yelde vpon the citie, opened the gates,
 and receiued in theyr enemies. And notwithstanding
 that Alexander had iust cause of dyspleasure agaynst
 the contrary faction, yet he pardoned them all, and re-
 ceiuynge theyr pledges, remoued toward the next citie.
 When the Indians that stood vpon the walles sawe the
 pledges that were brought before hys army, whome they
 perceyued to be of the same nation, desired cōmunicati-
 on with them: who declaring both the kinges clemēcy,
 and his force, dyd mooue them to render vpon their citie:
 whose ensauple the rest of the cities dyd followe.

From thence he came into the citie of Sophites, which
 is a nation (as the Indians thynke) most excellling in
 wisdom, best gouerned, and that haue the best cus-
 tomes emongest them. The childezen that be there got-
 ten, are not nourished, and brought vp accordyng to the
 will of theyr parentes, but by the order of such as haue
 the charge comytted vnto them to biewe the state of
 the infant. If they perceiue any not apte to become ac-
 tiue, or els wanting any of theyr limmes, they cause the
 streight wayes to be kylled. They ble to mary without
 any respect of the kinned they come of, or the greatnes of
 parentage, making no choyse, but in the shap of hys bo-
 dy,

die, which is the thing that is onely esteemed amongest them. The king him selfe was within þe chiefe citie of þe countrey, agaynst the which, Alexander brought hys power. The gates were shut, and no man appeared in armes vpon þe walles, to make any defence: wherfore he stood in doubt a great while, whether the citie was abandoned, or els that þe inhabitants had kept them selues secret for some policie. Whiles he remayned in þe expectation, sodainly the gate was opened, & the king (which in goodlynes of person excelled all the rest) came fourth with his two sonnes. He wore a garment of gold, and purple empaled, that couered the calfe of his legges, & the soles he wore on his fete were set with precious stones. All hys armes were garnished with pearles, and had hanging at his eares two precious stones, which were excellent, both for bygnes, and bryghtnes: and there he had a scepter of golde set with precious stones (called Berilli) which he (after his salutatio made) with humble submission deliuered vnto Alexander: yelding bothe him selfe, his children, & his kingdome into his handes.

There were in that countrey very notable dogges for the hunting of wild beastes, which specially were geue to be eger vpon the Lyon. The kyng therfore to shewe theyr force, and propertie vnto Alexander, put fowre of them vnto a great Lyon, which streight wayes caught him fast. The one which was accustomed to that office, tooke one of those dogges by the legges to plucke hym from the Lyon, & because he would not loose his holde, cut of his legges with a sword. But whē þe dogge sticke neuertheles vnto his game, he was cut a sunder in piece meale, tyll suche time as he dyed, hauing his teeth styll fastened in the Lyons fleshe. Such a feruentnes of nature had wrought in those beastes, as we vnderstoode

by the report. Sometime I am enforced to wyrt thinges that I can scarcely beleue. For I neither dare affyrme the thinges wherof I doubt, nor concele such thinges as I haue receiued for truth. Alexander leauyng this kyng within his owne kyngdome, came vnto the riuier of Hyaspis, and there ioygned with Ephestion, whiche ^{Hyaspis.} had subdued the countrey therabout.

One Phegelas was king of the next nation, which ^{King Phegelas.} commaunding his subiectes to continue in tylling of the grounde as they were wont to doe, met Alexander with ryche presentes, refusing nothyng that was commaunded hym. When he had taried with him two daies, and was determined the thyrde daye to haue passed the riuier, he founde therein great dyfficultie, by reason that the streame was so large, and full of great stones: He stayed therfore a whyle, to be more fullpe aduertised of the state of those countreyes, and of all such thinges as were necessarye for hym to knowe. He vnderstoode by Phegelas howe beyond that riuier there lay a desert of ten dayes iourney, and next to that desert the riuier of Ganges, whiche was the greatest riuier in all the Orient. He shewed that beyonde Ganges there inhabited two nations called Gangaridans, and Pharrasians, ^{Gangaridans. Pharrasians Aggramenes} whose kyng was called Aggramenes, whiche vled to come to the field with .xx. M. horsemen. CC. thousande footemen, two thousand armed wagons, and three. M. Elephantes, whiche were counted the greatest terrour. Those thinges seemed incredible vnto Alexander, and therfore enquired of Porus, if the thynges were true that had bene tolde him. He confirmed Phegelas report concerning the force of the nation. But he sayed theyr kyng was come of no noble bloud, but of the basest sorte of men, whose father beyng a barbour, and with

with great payne getting his dayly liuing, came in fauour with the Quene, who brought him to haue all the doinges about the kyng her husband, whiche was afterwards slayne by theyr treason. Then he vnder colour to become tutour vnto the chyldren, vsurped the kingdome to him selfe, & putting the chyldren to death, did beget him that was then king, being in hatred and disgrace of the people, as one that followed more the maners of his fathers former estate, then suche as dyd dyd beseme the dignitie of a prince. When Alexander harde Porus affyrme this matter, he became in great trouble of mynde, not that he regarded the multitude of his enemies, nor the force of theyr Elephanes: But he feared the greatnes of the riuers, and the situation of the countrey, so difficult to entre vpon. He thought it a harde enterpryse to seeke out nations so farre inhabiting in the vttermost boundes of the worlde. Yet on the other side the greedines of glozy, and the vnsatiabie desyre of fame, made no place to seeme to farre, nor no aduenture to be ouer harde. He doubted also that the Macedons, whiche had passed so manye countreyes, and were waxen aged with warres, would not be content to followe him ouer so many riuers, and against so many difficulties of nature lying in theyr waye. For he iudged, that synce they abounded, and were so laden wth spoyle, they would rather seeke to enioy such thinges as they had gotten, then to trauayle any ferther in getting of more. He could not thinke the same appetite to be in hys souldiours, that was in him selfe. For he compassed in his mind how to get the Empryre of the whole worlde, into which matter he had but made his entrie: where as they weried with trauayle, and thynking to haue past all peryll, looked to enioy with speede, the

fruite

fruite of all theyr labour: yet for all that bys affectyon
 ouercame reason. For he assembled bys army together
 and spake vnto them after thys maner. I am not ig-
 norant (my souldiours) how that there be now many
 rumours sowed emonges you by the Indians, purpose
 lie to put you in feare. But the vanitie of theyr lyngge is
 not so new a thing, & it is able now to deceiue you. The
 Persians after that maner would haue made both the
 streightes of Sicilia, and the plaines of Mesopotamia
 terrible vnto you: yea and put you in feare of the riuers
 of Tigre & Euphrates: and yet we waded ouer thone
 of them, and passed the other by a bridge. The same ne-
 uer reporteth thiges truly, but maketh al thinges grea-
 ter then they bee in deede. Euen our glorie, though it be
 growen to a certaine perfection, yet it is moze in fame,
 then in effect. Whiche of you of late did thinke that you
 should haue ben able to endure the Elephantes, shewing
 a farre of like castels: Who thought I could haue pas-
 sed the riuier of Hydaspis, when it was reported to bee
 muche greater then it was: We shoulde longe agoe (my
 souldiours) haue fled out of Asia, if tales coulde haue
 caused vs to tourne our backs. Thinke you that the
 numbze of the Elephantes be greater, the you haue seene
 herdes of bestes in other places: seing they bee so rare in
 the worlde and so straunge to be take: there must nedes
 be muche moze difficultie in the making of theim tame.
 The same vanitie that hath reported the to you to bee of
 suche numbze, hath numbzed also their hofemen & theyr
 fotemen. Concerning the riuers, the moze broade they
 be, the moze gently they must runne. For such as be nar-
 rowe & of small breadth, runne alwayes with the most
 vehement streame, where as contrarywise, the broade
 riuers passe theyr courses moze mildelye. But you will

Alexanders
 oration to his
 souldiours

peraduenture saie that all þe perill is at the shore, where
 your enemies shall waite for your arriual. Whatsoeuer
 the riuer be, þe hasard is all one at the lading: But ima-
 gine that all those thinges were true. Whether is it the
 greatnesse of the beastes, or the multitude of the men þe
 put you in feare? As cōcerning the Elephātes, we haue
 had experiēce of them of late, how much more rigorously
 they rage against their owne partie, the against vs.
 What should we esteeme the, but onely abate þe greatnes
 of theyr bodies, with such weapons as we haue prepa-
 red for the purpose: What matter is it whether they bee
 of the like numbꝛe that Porus had, or whether they be. iii
 M. seeinge we perceiue, that whē twoo or thre be once
 wounded, the rest bēde them selues to flie a way. And for
 asmuche as they cannot well be gouerned whē they bee
 but fewe, when there be so many thousandes together,
 they must then nedes be an impediment one to another,
 and breede a confusyon emonges them selues: they be so
 bwdie by reason of theyr huge bodies, that they bee
 neither apt to passe for wardes, nor yet to flie. I haue al-
 waies so litle esteemed the, that whē I haue had plentie
 of that kind I would neuer vse the: knowing very well
 that they be more dangerous to such as occupie them,
 then they be to theyr enemies. But peraduenture it is the
 multitude of theyr horsemen & footemen that do trouble
 you: were you neuer wont to fight against such numbꝛes?
 or is it the first tyme that you haue encountred wth
 disordered multitudes? The riuer of Granike is a wyt-
 nesse howe inuincible the power of the Macedons is
 against any multitude. And so is Silicia that flowed
 wth the Persians bloude, and Arbella whose playnes
 be strewed wth theyr boanes. It is ouer late to route
 the numbꝛe of your enemies, after that wth your victo-
 rie

for ye haue made Asia desert. When ye passed ouer
 Hellespont, you shoulde then haue considred your small
 numbze. Now the Scythians doe followe vs: we haue
 ayde at hande from the Bactrians, and we supplie
 our power wpth the Sogdians. Yet for all that, it is
 not in theim, in whom I put my confidence. I haue a
 regard vnto your force: I reserue your manhode about
 me, as a pledge & assurance of my actes and doinges.
 So longe as I maie stande in the fiede emonges you,
 I will neither way my selfe, nor myne enemies. Doe
 you but shewe an apparauice, that there is hope in you
 and cherefulnesse. We are not now newlie entred into
 our trauailles, but haue passed all our labours, beinge
 come to the rising of the sonne, and to the Ocean Sea,
 excepte our owne slouth bee our impediment. From
 thence hauing subdued the world, we shall retourne as
 victours into our countrie. Doe not you as these neg-
 ligente husbandmen, that lose their fructe after it is
 once ripe: The rewardes of our iourneie be greater the
 our perill. The countrie that we goe vnto, is riche & of
 no force: thether I purpose to bring you both to winne
 glorie, & to get you spoile. For worthie you are to carie
 suche riches into your countrie: whiche be so plentifull
 there, that the sea doeth cast them vp against the shore.
 You bee men of that vertue, that ye ought to leaue no-
 thing vnproued, nor nothing vndoed for feare: I desire
 and praeie you by the glorie ye haue gotten, in whiche ye
 excede the state of men, and by all that I haue deserued
 of you, and you of me, wherewith ye remayne as inuin-
 cible, that ye wyl not forsake me, purposing to visite the
 ende of the worlde, me I saie that haue beene brought
 vp as a childe emongest you. I will make no mencion
 how I am your king: In the rest of thinges I haue co-

maunded you : let mee now entreate you in thys one point. It is I that make this request vnto you, whyche neuer commaunded you any thing, but I put my selfe foꝛmost in thaduenture, and daunger, and the which oftentimes in mine owne person haue beene & foꝛmoste in defence of the battaill: take not the victoꝛy out of my handes, with the whiche (if enuie bee not the let) I shall become equal in gloꝛye both to Hercules, and Bacchus. Geue your assent to mine intercession, and at length breake your obstinate silence. Where is your shewting become that was wot to be a declaration of your cherefulness? Where be the countenaunces of my countrey men? I know you not my souldyers, and it semeth that I am not knownen of you. Hee thinkes I crie to your deafe eares in vaine, and go about in wast to stirre vp your vnwilling, and vnmoueable myndes.

Notwithstanding all these wooꝛdes, they hong downe their heddes towardes the earth, and perseuered still in silence. Then he proceded: I know not (quod he) wherein I haue vnwittynge offended you, that you will not ones vouchelaufe to loke mee in the face. I seme to bee solitarie, and in a deserte. Is there none of you that I speake vnto, will aunswere mee? Is there none at the least wayes will denie my requeste? What is the thyng that I require: euen your owne gloꝛye, and your owne encrease. Where bee they now, whome I sawe not long ago contendyng, who shoulde first take vp theyꝛ kyng, when he was wounded? And now yee leaue mee alone: yee foꝛsake me, yee betraie me to mine enemies. But I will not leaue mine enterpryse though I go alone. Put me foꝛwardes to those Riueres, to those beastes, and to those nations, the very names of whome ye feare so muche. The Scythians, and Bactrians shall goe with
me

me, whiche of late were mine enemies, and now be my souldiours. I had rather die, then be a kinge to bee ruled, and at others mens appoinctment. Departe you home, goe I saie, and triumphe of the abandoning of your king. For I will rather obtaine here the victorie, wherof you haue despaired, or els die a death that shall bee honourable. Notwithstanding all that he had saied, there was not one souldier that would open hys mouth to speake, but stood waiting that some of the Princes, and greate Capitaines should declare vnto the kyng their states, and how that there remained not in them any obstinate refusall of the warres, but that they were so exhausted wyth woundes, and weried wyth continuall trauaile, that they were not able to endure anye lenger. As they stode thus astonyed, and afrayed in silence, and looking vpon the grounde, there began firste a whisperinge, and a rumour emongest them, and afterwarde a lamentatyon: and by litle and litle, they beganne moze manifestly to shewe their dolour, the teares fallinge from theyr eyes. The kynges anger was then so tourned into compassyon, that he was not hable neither to keepe himself from teares, but y whole assemblie brast out into an excessiue weeping.

And when the rest were at a staile to speake, Cenus tooke vpon hym to presse forwardes, towarde the Iudgement seate, where Alexander stode, sygnyfying that hee had somewhat to saie. When the Souldiours sawe hym pull hys helmet from hys head (for so it was the custome to speake vnto the kyng) they began to require hym that he woulde vtter the cause of y whole armie. Then Cenus began on this wise.

The Goddes defende our myndes from all wicked thoughtes: as I doubt not but they will: there are none

Cenus wordes
in the name of
the whole ara
of me.

of your souldiours, but be of the same minde towarde you, that they haue beene in times past: Whether it bee your pleasure to commaund them to goe forwardes to fight, & to hasard thei selues, or with theyr bloude commende their name vnto the posteritie. And if you will nedes perseuer in your opinion, though we bee vnarmed, naked, and withoute bloude, wee wyll either come after you, or go before, as you shall thinke expedient: But if you will bee contente to heare your souldiours griefes, and complaintes that be not feigned, but expressed by force of very necessitie, I humbly beseeche you then, that yee woulde vouchesafe fauourablye to heare them, that constantlye haue followed your authoritie, and fortune, and are yeat readye to followe wheresoeuer you wyll appoincte. ¶ Alexander, wyth the greatnesse of your Actes, yehaue not overcome onely your enemies, but also vs your owne souldiours. Whatsoeuer mannes mortalitie is hable to fulfill, that is perfourmed by vs, hauinge passed ouer so many Seas, and Countries better knowne to vs then to the very inhabitours, now remaining in maner in the uttermost ende of the worlde. And yet for all thys, your purpose is to passe into an other worlde, and seeke out an Inde vnknewen to the Indians. We couet to plucke out the wilde bestes, and serpentes out of theyr denes, and lurking places, mynding to searche further with your victorie, then the Sunne hath visited wyth hys beames, whiche truly is an imaginatyon meete for your harte, but farre exceeding our capacity, and power. Your manhod, and courage is alwaies in increase: but our force groweth in declination. Beholde our bodies destitute of bloud, perced wyth so many woundes, and cotted wyth so many scarres. Our weapons now bee dulled,

dulled, and our armour is wasted, and consumed: we weare our apparel after the Persians maner, because our countrey garmentes do faile vs: We are degenerate out of our owne fashion, and growen into a strange habyte. What is he that hath his corselet, or horse particular to hymself? Cause it to be enquired how many remayne amongest vs, and what remaineth to euery man of the spoile. Beynge the victours of all men, of all men we are the poorest. It is not aboundaunce, or excellence that troubleth vs, but the very Warre it selfe: Our munition is consumed, & yet ye munde to put fourth this goodlye armie of yours naked vnto those beastes: The multitude of whome though Thindians purpose-ly doe encrease, yet of theyr vaine reposte we maye perceiue þe numbze to be greate. But if ye bee vtterly determined to passe yet further into Inde, the countrie that lieth Southwarde is not so desert as the other, whych being subdued, ye maye passe to that sea, whiche nature hath appointed to bounde in the worlde. Why doe you seke that glozy a farre of, which remaineth to you redy at your hande? Here the Ocean sea doeth mete vs: & except your mynde be to wander, we are come to þe place predestinate vnto vs.

I had rather speake these thinges before you, then behynde your backe: for I seeke not to wyne fauour amongest the men of Warre that stande here aboute me, but desire you shoulde rather heare theyr myndes expressed in plaine wordes, then to heare theyr griefe and their grudge vttered in muttering, and in murmur. When Cenus had made an ende of hys tale, there rose a crie and lamentacion, which wyth confused voyces euery where called Alexander theyr kyng, their father, & their lord. Then the other capitaines, (and specially the

elders, whiche by reason of theyr Age had the moze honest excuse, and greater auctoritie) made þe like request. So that the king was not hable to chastise them being in that obstinacie, not mitigate them being so moued. Therfore vncertaine what to doe, he lept from þe iudgement place, and commaundinge hys lodgyng to be shut in, admitted no man, but suche as were accustomed about hys person. Two daies he consumed in his angre, and the thirde he came fourth amongest his men, causing xii. altares of square stone there to be set vp, as a monument of hys iourneie, and willed the trenches of hys campe to be made wider, and the places where þe soldiers laye to bee enlarged greater, then serued for the bignesse of theyr bodies: thinking by the forme & shape of thiges thus encreased, to leaue a deceiptfull woonde vnto his posteritie. From thens he returned againe by the waye he had passed before & encamped vpon the riuer of Acesines. Cenus chaunced there to die, whose death the king lamented: but yet he saied that for so fewe daies he had made an ouerlong Oracion: as though he alone shoulde haue returned into Macedon. By þe tyme the nauie of Shippes, whiche he had appointed to bee made, stode in redines a flote: and Hemnō in þe meane season brought him oute of Thrace a supplie of. vi. M. horsemen, and besides from Harpalus. vii. M. fotemen with. xxb. M. armours that were wrought with siluer and golde, which he distributed amongest his men, and commaunded the olde to bee burned, purposing to passe vnto þe Ocean Sea with a. M. shippes. But before his departure, he reconciled together by affinitie Porus, and Taxiles, betwixte whom there was a newe dyscorde risen vpon theyr olde hatreds. He had obtained of them great aide both in the making, and furnishing of

Hemnon.

of hys nauie. During the tyme he was about that busines, he builded there. ii. cities: wherof he called thone Picea, and the other Bucephalon, dedicating the latter by the name of his horse that was dead. He gaue order that his Elephantes, and cariage should passe by lande, and he sailed downe the riuer, proceeding euery daye about .xl. furlonges, so that he might euer land hys power in such places as he thought conueniēt. At length he came into a countrey where as the riuer of Hydaspes, and Acesines doe ioigne together, and doe runne from thence into the boundes of a nation called Sobions. They declared that theyr predeceffours came of Hercules army, which being left there sicke, dyd inhabite the countrey. They were clothed in beastes skynnes, vsing clubbes for theyr weapons: and though they had left the customes of the Greekes, yet there appeared many thynges among them, that declared from whence they were descended. Here the king laded, & marched. CXX. furlonges within the countrey, whiche he wasted: and tooke the chiefeft citie in the same. There were .xl. Men that stood in defence agaynst hym vpon a riuers side: but he passed the water, putting them to flight, and after they fled into the citie, he wanne it by force. The children were slayne, and the rest sold as slaues. He assaulted another citie where he was repulled with the great force of the defendants, and lost many of his me. But when the inhabitauntes sawe that he continued still y^e siege, despayring of theyr sauegarde, they set fyre on theyr houses, and burned them selues, their wiues, & theyr children. Which fire when the Macedons quenched, & they kindled the same again, it seemed a straunge contention, the citizeyns to destroye theyr owne citie, theyr enemyes labouryng to saue it: the warres so contras-

Picea.

Bucephalon.

The Sobions.

tratically chaunged the lawes wrought in man by nature. The castle was saued, wherein a guarrison was left. Alexander went about this castle by water, which was enuironed with three of the greatest riuers in all Inde, Ganges except, Indus passing vpon the North syde, & Acesines running into Hydaspis vpon the south. Where these riuers mette, the waues roale lyke surges of the Sea, being full of mudd, and coes, which by the course of the water were driuen vnto the sydes: for all that the riuers are broad, yet the chanelis are but narrow, wherein the shippes must passe. The waues dyd ryle so hygh, and thicke, breakyng sometyme vpon the pappes of the shippes, and sometyme vpon the sydes, that the shypmen began to bale theyr sayles. But they were so troubled throught feare, and the violent swiftnes of the streame, that they could not order theyr tacklyng, so that two of theyr greatest shippes were drowned within sight: And the smaller vessels whiche were as vnhabable to be gouerned, were driuen vpon the shore withoute anye harme. The kyng chaunced vpon the place wheras the waues went hyghest, wherewith his shippe was so tossed, & trauersed, that the helme could not direct his course. Wherfore the king doubtyng of drownyng, pulled of his garment readye to cast hym selfe into the water, and his frendes did swimme neare therabout ready to receiue hym: It appearing to hym doubtfull, which peryll was greatest, eether to swimme or to continue styll aboord. But the mariners laboured wonderfully with theyr oares, addyng all the force that laye in mans power to cut through the waues, by whose importunate trauayle, the water seemed to diuylde a sundre, and to geue place: so that at length they haled out of the surges: and yet yet hable to bring the
 Shippe

shyppe to the shoare, dashed vpon the next flat, it appearing that the shippes, & the streame had fought a battaile together. Alexander hauing escaped this perill, set vpon to euery riuer an altare, wherupon he offered due sacrifice, and that doone, past forward thyrty furlonges.

From thence he came into the countrey of the Sudrichans, & Mallians, which accustomed to be at warre amongest them selues: then for theyr owne defence, they ioygned in societie. They asssembled in armes to the number of .ix. M. footemen. x. M. horsemen, and .ix. C. armed wagons, wherof whē the Macedons were aduertised, which beleued that they had passed all perils, seeing a freshe warre arysse, with a newe fierce nation, were amased with a sodayne feare, and began againe with seditious wordes to reproue theyr kyng.

They alleged that he would lately haue compelled them to passe the riuer of Ganges, for to make warre vpon those nations lying beyond the same: which enterprise though it were left, they had not for all that ended the warre neuer the more, but rather made an exchaunge of a new labour, being put fourth amongest these wilde nations, to make the Ocean sea open to him with their bloud, and to be drawn beyond the sunne, and sterres. They were compelled (they saied) to visite those places, whiche nature coueted to remoue fro mans knowlege. They grudged that to theyr newe armour, there were new enemies raised vp, whome if they should vanquish, and put to flight, they could not see what benefite they coulde receiue therby, but onely darkenes and obscuritie of the ayre, whiche alwaies couered the deepe Sea, replenished with multitude of monsters, wallowing in those immouable waters, wheras nature decaying, she failed of her force. The king litle moued in his owne
ref.

Sudrichans.
Mallians,

The Mutil-
nous wordes
of the souldi-
ers.

Alexander
persuaded his
souldiours.

respect, was greatly troubled with those passions of his souldiers. Wherefore he assembled them altogether, declaring of how feble a force those nations were, whome they feared so much, whiche onely remayned, and were impediment vnto the (having passed ouer so many countreyes) to attaine both to the full of their trauaile, and to the ende of the worlde. He shewed howe that in respect of theyr former feare, he had left hys enterpryse ouer Ganges, with the conquest of the nations inhabityng beyonde the same, and had directed hys iourney thys waye, where as theyr glozve shoulde bee as great, and theyr peryll much lesse, and wherein they had not farre to trauaile, seeing the Ocean was in maner within syght: the ayre wherof he felt blowing in hys face. He required them therfore that they woulde not enuye the glozve that he sought, by passyng the boundes of Hercules, and Bacchus, seeing that with so litle payne they myght geue vnto their kyng perpetuall fame and immortalitye: In doing wherof they should depart out of India as victorious, where as otherwyle they shoulde seeme to flie away from thence. It is the propertie of euery multitude, and specially of me of warre, to be drawn with euery litle motion, amonges whome, as sedition doth soone rise, so it is soone pacified. There was neuer a moze cherefull crye made of anye army before, then the souldiours then made vnto Alexander, which willed him to leade them whether so euer he woulde, and make him selfe equall in glozy to them, whose actes he dyd counterfeit. Alexander reioysing in the willingness that appeared in them, remoued streight wayes towardes his enemies, that were the stoutest people of all the Indians. They prepared them selues stoutlye for the warres, & chose for theyr capitaine one of the Ori-

Dracans, that was of an approued manhode: Who en-
camping at the foote of a mountayne, made fyres all a-
broad, to cause hys number appeare the greater, and
went about in bayne to feare the Macedons, whē they
were in rest, by making of Alarmes, with theyr cryes &
maner of howlyng. When the daye appeared, Alexan-
der hauing an assured trust to winne the victorie, com-
maunded the souldiours to put on theyr armour, and
cherefully to fall in order of battayle.

But the Indians (whether it were for feare, or by
reason of some sedition risen emonges them) sodainly
fled into the desert mountaynes, whom Alexander fol-
lowed in bayne, and not hable to ouertake them, tooke
theyr cariage. After this he came vnto a citie of Dris-
dracans, wherunto great number were fled, aswell in
trust of the strength of the place, as of theyr owne pow-
er. As Alexander was aboute to make the approche,
Demophon his diuiner admonished him, that he should
eyther dyfferre the matter, or els not meddle with it at
all; for that there appeared sygnes that hys lyfe should
be in perill. When Alexander had heard his wordes, he
beheld him, & sayed: If any man should interrupt thee,
when thou art busye about thy science, or considering
of intrayles: should not he seeme vnto thee troublous,
& his commyng be vngratefull? Yes truely (quod he.)
So art thou now vnto me (quod Alexander.) For
hauing so great matters in hand of more moment then
the entrailes of beastes: I finde no greater impediment
then a superstitious diuiner. And as soone as he had
spoken the worde, he caused them to reare by ladders,
and whyles other men stycked, and stayed at the mat-
ter, he mounted by the wall. The same was verye nar-
rowe in the toppe, not diuyled with lopes (as is com-
menly

menly bled) but enclosed with one whole and continu-
all battylment rounde about, whiche caused it to be the
moze harde to scale.

Alexander therfore hauyng no conuenient rowme
to stande at hys defence, stayed vpon the wall, recey-
uyng vpon hys terget the dartes whiche were cast at
hym from all partes. Hys souldiours coulde not get
vnto hym: they were so beaten from the walles by the
multitude of shot that came from aboue. Yet at length
when by theyr staying they sawe their kyng geuen vp
into theyr enemies handes, shame ouercame theyr im-
minent daunger. But theyr ouermuche hast was ouer
great a let, and the cause, why they coulde not come to
the rescue of theyr king.

For whyles euery man coueted by the ladders, they
were so sore laden, that they brake a sunder, and suche
as were mounted vpon them, fell downe agayne, de-
ceyuyng Alexander of hys onely hoape: So that in the
syght of all the army, he stode destitute as in a desert,
without anye ayde or succour, and had weried hys left
arme (with the whiche he helde hys terget) in recey-
uyng the blowes. Hys frendes cryed vnto hym that he
should leape downe vnto them, who stode in a readi-
nes to receiue him. But he geuyng no eare vnto them,
vndertooke an incredible enterpryse, and suche one as
hath not bene heard of before, deseryng rather fame
of rashenes, then of anye commendation that myght
Iound to his gloze. For with a full leape he dyd cast
hymselfe into the citie that was full of hys enemyes,
where as he coulde scarcely haue any hoape to fyght
for hys lyfe, or in dying to be reuenged vpon hys ene-
mies. For before he coulde recouer hys feete agayne, it
was likely either he shoulde haue bene slayne, or taken
alyue.

alyue. But he by chaunce so conueyed hys bodye, that he fell vpon hys feete, and standyng, encountred with suche as came agaynst hym: fortune so prouydyng that he could not be enclosed about, by reason of an old tree, whiche (as it had bene of purpose) stood neare vnto the wall: whose broad boughes full of leaues couered hym from aboue, and the greatnes of the stocke kept hys enemies from commyng on hys backe; and vpon the fore front he receyued the dartes that were cast against hym with his terget. For though ther were neuer so many that contended with hym a farre of, yet durst ther no man come neere vnto hym: & the boughes kept of the arrowes and the dartes, so well as his terget dyd. In thys extremitie the greatnes of Alexanders fame, chiefly fought for him, and next desperatio: a great encouragement for a man to dye honestlye. At length through the multitude of hys enemies that continually flocked about him, both his terget was laden with shotte, his helmet was broken with stones, and hys legges fainted and fayled vnder him, by reason of his continuall trauaile: Which thing when his enemies perceyued, they tooke lesse regarde to them selues, and drew more neare him, of whome he receyued two with hys sword, in suche sorte, that they fell downe dead at his feete. And from that tyme forwardes none was so bolde to approche agayne so neare hym, but they threw dartes and shotte arrowes at him a farre of. He laye open to euery mans blowe: and yet (though it were with great payne) defended hym selfe vpon his knees, vntyll such tyme as an Indian shotte an arrowe at hym that was two cubites long, whiche a litle about hys ryght thighe passed through hys corselet: By reason of that wounde he shedde so muche bloude, that he let hys sword

sworde fall, as one at the poynt of death. And therewith became so faint, that he had not strength to plucke out the arrowe. Then the Indian, whiche had hurt hym, came with great ioye to spole his body. But when Alexander felt his enemies hand vpon hym: moued (as it is to be thought) with despyte, to receyue an infamy to that extremitie, called againe hys spirites that were passing away, and with his sworde thrust hys enemye (being vnarmed) through the bodye.

When he had thus slaine two of hys enemies whiche laye dead before hym, all the rest stood amazed a farre of. Then Alexander, desyring before hys last breathe should fayle to be kylled fightyng, beganne to rayse vp his body vpon his terget: Yet his strength would not serue hym therunto, and therfore reached at a bough that hong ouer his head, coueting therby to haue raysed vp him selfe. But his power not suffyng therunto, he fell downe againe vpon his knees, and by a sygne made with his hande, challenged his enemies, if any of them durst come and match with him. At the last, Demetrius repulling his enemies vpon an other part of the citie, gotte into the towne, and coastyng along by walles, came vnto the place where the kyng was. When Alexander espyed him, though he had no hoape to liue, yet he toke his comynge for a comfort to his death, and for all his feablenes beganne to reare vp him selfe. Then came Timeus, and within a while Leonatus, and after them Aristonius. When it was once publyshed amonges the Indians, that Alexander was entred within by walles, they left theyr defence in other places, and came flockyng thither, wheras they fiercely assayled such as stood in defence of the kinges person. Timeus, after that he had fought notable, and receyued manye woundes, was there

Timeus:
Leonatus,
Aristonius.

there slayne. Peucestes also notwithstanding that he was stricken & wounded wyth theyr dartes, yet wyth hys terget he defended the kynges person, wythout any regarde of hym selfe. And Leonatus, whyles he resisted the Indians, that egerlye pressed vpon Alexander, receiued so sore a stripe vpon the necke, that he fell downe in a sowne at the kynges feete. By that tyme Peucestes became so feable of hys woundes, that he was not able to defende him any moze. The laste hoape and refuge remainned in Aristonius, who also was so greuously wounded, that he coude not endure any longer the force of the Indians.

In the meane season the fame was spreade emonges the Macedons, that theyr kyng was slayne: whyche beinge a matter that shoulde haue putte others in feare, stirred vp theyr hartes, and made them the hardyer. For from that tyme forwarde, there was none that had respect of hys owne peryll, but aduentured to the wall, and breakynge downe the same wyth pykeaxes, entred at the breach, makinge slaughter of theyr enemies, of whom fewe stode at defence, but fledde awaye. There was neuer man nor woman spared olde nor younge. For they mette none, but they iudged hym to bee the person that had hurte theyr kyng, and so at length wyth the murder of the multitude their iust ire was satisfied. Clitarchus and Timagenes do wyte, that Ptholomeus, which afterwarde became kinge of Egypte was presente in thys encountre. But he hym selfe, that vsed not to denye any thyng that stode with his owne gloze, did put in memoze how that he was then absent, sente aboute an other enterpryse. Suche a negligence was in theym that dyd wyte the antiquities of thynges, or els an ouer muche credulitye, whiche

is a faulte no lesse then the other. When Alexander was brought into hys lodgyng the Surgeons cut of þe stale of that shafte in suche wise, that they moued not the heade that was wythin the fleche. And when they sawe the wounde bare, they perceiued hokes to be wythin the arrowe heade, so that without the destruction of hys bodye, it couldenot bee pulled out, except by incision they made the wounde greater: And yet in that poynt they feared, least abundaunce of bloude shoulde bee impediment vnto theim. For the heade was very greate, and it seemed to bee entered farre wythin hys bodye.

There was one Critobolus, that was verye cunninge and moſte excellent amonges all the Physitions and surgeons, and yet in so daungerous a matter as this, he was fearefull & in doubt to set to his handes, least if anye thyng shoulde chaunce to the kinge otherwise then well, whyles he remayned in thys cure, the blame might lyght vpon hys heade. Therefore when Alexander perceiued by his weping & feare he was in, and that throughe trouble of mind he looked pale in the face, layed vnto hym: What is it that thou lokest for, or whye doest thou staye in ryddynge me quickly out of thys payne, at the leaſte wayes by death, if thou caſt not otherwyle bypunge it to passe: For seying my wounde is incurable, why doest thou feare that anye thyng shoulde bee layed vnto thy charge: When Critobolus hearde his wordes, he eyther celled, or dyssembled hys feare, and exhorted Alexander that he woulde suffer hym selfe to be holden, whyles they pulled out the arrowe heade that was wythin hys fleche: for the leaſte mocyon (he saied) myghte be hurtfull vnto hym. The bypunge woulde not be holden, but helde hys bodye at a staye

stay wythout mouinge, in such sort as they appointed him. When they had cut the wounde wyder and pulled out the heade, there issued suche aboundaunce of bloude, that the kinge fell in a swoonde, & dymmes came ouer hys sight, he stretchyng out hym selfe as one in the pangues of death. The they wroughte all the meanes they coulde to stanche the bloude: but when they perceiued it would not auayle, hys frendes began to cry out and lament, thynkyng verely that that there had bene no way but death. Notwithstandinge at length he ceased his bleeding, and recouering agayne his spirites, began to knowe theym that stood about hym. All that daye and the nyght ensuinge, the men of warre stode in armes aboute the kynges lodgyng, confessyng that all theyr liues depended vpon hys breath, & would not remoue from thence, befoze they vnderstode that he took some rest. But when they knewe that he was fallen a sleape, they returned into the campe, bryngyng vnto the rest more certayne hope of hys recovery. Alexander aboute the curinge of hys wounde, remayned there seuen dayes: and vnderstandyng that a constant fame of hys death was spreade abroade emonges the Indians, he caused two Shyppes to bee fastened together, and a lodgyng to bee made for hym in the myddest: So that remaynunge vpon the water, he myghte be seene from bothe sydes of the lande, of them that thought he had bene deade. When the countrey men by the viewe of hym, perceyued he was on lyue, they tooke away the hope that some had conceyued vpon the false report. From thence he passed downe the streame, leauyng a dystaunce betwene hys shypp, and the rest of the nauye, to the entente that wyth the beatyng of the oares, they shoulde not dysturbe hym

of his reſte, whyche was neceſſarpe for hys weake bo-
dye. The fourth daye after hys embarkyng, he came in-
to a countrey abandoned of the inhabitours, but yet
plentifull both of corne and cattell, in whyche place he
thought expedient both to reſt hym ſelfe, and hys ſoul-
dyours. It was a cuſtome emonges the Macedons,
that when theyr kyng was diſeaſed, the chiefe Dyn-
ces, and the greate men watched aboute hys lodgyng:
Whych maner beyng then obſerued, they entred all to-
gether into þ chamber where Alexander laye: at whole
ſodayne comynge he was ſomewhat amaſed, ſpecial-
lye becauſe they came all to gether. He thought they had
brought hym ſome ſtraunge tidynges, and enquired of
them if they vnderſtoode of any newe aſſemblye of hys
enemies. Then Craterus which was appoynted to
ſpeake in the behalfe of them all, ſayed to hym after this
maner.

Craterus
wordes to A-
lexander.

Do you thinke that the comynge of any cnympes
coude make vs ſo carefull (thought they were entred
wythin your campe) as we be of your health and ſauſe-
garde, for all that it is a thyng whyche you reguarde
leaſt. Though all nacyns conſpire agaynſte vs wyth
theyr power, though the whole worlde were fylled full
of men of warre, the Seas ouerſpread wyth ſhyppes,
and neuer ſo many ſtraunge beaſtes brought agaynſte
vs, it conſiſteth in the momente of your perſon to make
vs victozers. But howe can any God promiſe, þ you,
which be the lyght and ſtarre of Macedon, can be of a-
ny continuance. ſeyng that you be ſo deſirous to put
your perſon in ſuche maaniſt peryls: not remembryng
that wyth your death you drawe wyth you into twayne,
the lyues of ſo manye of your countrey men. What is he
that either can, or doth deſire to lyue after you. We are
come

come so farre fourth folowynge your fortune and authoritie, that wythout you, none of vs is able to returne home againe.

If ye were yet contendynge wyth Darius for the kyngdome of Perse, though we all woulde wythe that you woulde not aduenture your person so perillouslye, yet in that case we coulde not maruayle so muche of your prompte audacitye. For where the daunger and the benefite that esueth therof is equal, there the fruit is the greater, when the matter succedeth well: and the comforte is the moze, when the thyng chaunseth euill. There is no man, not onelye of vs that bee your soldiours, but euen of suche as were your enenies, hauinge anye vnderstandynge of your greatnes, that can suffer so base a towne, & of so litle fame, be bought wyth the pryce of your lyfe. My harte shrynkes at the remembraunce of the thyng, whiche we but late dyd see wyth oure eyes. I am amased to rehearse howe those byle hades were in readines to haue caried the spoyle of your inuincible person, if fortune of her mercye had not preserued and delyuered you from theyr crueltye. So manye of vs as were not able to followe you, were all traytours and forsakers of our Prince. And though it were a matter that laye not in our power, yet if it please you to note vs all wyth reproche, there is none that wyll refuse any punishment in the purgation of the matter. Not wythstandynge we woulde requyre that you woulde spare vs for some other purpose. We wyll gladly go whether so euer ye wyll haue vs: we requyre, warre be it neuer so obscure, and couet the battail, though our fightynge shall wante fame, so that you wyll reserue your selfe to those hassardes, which bee meete for the greatenes of your estate. Howe

soone doth glozpe banyshe awaye and become of no prayse, emonges such enemies as bee of no reputacion. And what thyng is there moze vnwozthy, then to consume the glozie ye haue gotten els where emonges the, where as your glozy can not appeare. When Craterus had tolde hys tale, Ptholome and the other spake to hym in lyke effecte: And requyred hym all at once wyth weepynge eyes, that he woulde not from thence fourth bee anye moze so thursty to winne prayse, but seyng he had gotte sufficient all readye, he shoulde contente hym selfe therewithall and reguarde his health and safeguarde, wherupon theyr vniuersall estate dyd depende. The kynge toke so gratefully theyr lounge affection, that he familiarlye embraced euerye one of them, and after he had wylled them to sitte, repetyng moze deapely theyr former communycation, he sayed thus vnto them.

Alexander
into hys
cubers.

My faithfull louinge frendes and countreyment,
I geue and render to you my hartye thanks, not onely for that ye pzelect my saulegard before your owne, but also for that sence the begynnyng of y warres, ye haue not pzeterrnitted any thyng, wherin your loue & beneuolence myght bee shewd towarde me: so y I must confesse that my lyie was neuer so deare as it is now, because I desire longe to enioye you. You be desituous to offer your selues to death in my quarell, because you iudge that I haue deserued that beneuolence at your handes. But your imagynacyon and myne is not after one sort. You paraduerture do couet continually to enioye me, and to take of me continuall fruite. And I measure not my selfe by the continuance of my tyme, but by the greatnesse of my glozpe. I myght haue bene content wyth the ryches my father lefte me, and wyth
rest

rest of my bodye haue looked for wyth the boundes of
Macedon, an age obscure and wythout any fame. And
yet I can not see that they which liue in slouth and idle-
nes, can assure them selues of theyr own destenye. For
euen suche as esteeme felicitye in longe life, bee often-
tymes pꝛeuented wyth sodayne death. But I whyche
numbre not my peres, but my victories, haue lyued long,
if I wyll weye the gyftes of fortune. For begynnynge
myne Empire in Macedonia, I haue Greece in myne
owne handes: I haue subdued Thrace and the Illiri-
ans: I reigne ouer the Triballes, and the Medyas,
possessinge all Asia that lyeth betwixte Hellesponte and
the redde Sea, and nowe am not farre from the ende
of the worlde, the whyche I determined to bylyte, and
to make open to men a newe nature, and a newe worlde.
I passed out of Asia into Europe in the moment of an
houre, and beyng but .xxviii. yeres olde, and ha-
uynge raygned but nine, am become victor of both
regions.

Do you thynke it then mete þ I shoulde nowe cesse
from winnynge of that glorie, wherunto I haue onely
addict my selfe? No, I will neuer cesse: but wherso-
euer I shall haue occasiō to fight, I shall thinke my selfe
to bee in þ Theatre, where þ whole worlde dothe be-
holdeme. I wyll geue nobility & fame to places that
bee obscure: And wyll laye open to all nacyns those
countreies that nature hath remoued furdest from
them: In doyng wherof it shall bee gratefull for me
to ende my lyfe, if Fortune wyll haue it so. I am come
of suche a stocke, that I ought to desire many thynges
before longe lyfe. I praye you to remmember that we
come into those countreies where the name of a wo-
man is muche celebrated for her vertues. What ctyes

did Semiramis builde: what nations did she subdue: and what great woorkes did she accomplishe: We are not yet become equall to a woman in gloze, and yet you woulde haue me to be satisfied of laude. The Goddes be fauourable vnto our purpose: for there remaine for vs yet greater thynges to do. And it is þ next way to make those countreys we haue not yet touched, to become ours, if we esteeme nothyng to bee of small valure, where as there is any occasyon to wyne gloze. Let it bee your care onely to p̄serue me from ciuill conspiracye and treason of myne owne people, and then there bee no aduentures of the warre shall put me in feare.

Philip was moze sure in the fronte of the battayle abroad, the when he was in quiet at home. He oftentimes auoyded the force of his enemies: but he coulde not eschue the violence of his owne subiectes. And if you consider the ende of other kynges, you shall counte moze that haue bene slayne by their owne men, then by any forayne power. But because there is an occasyon now offered me to vtter the thinge I haue longe conceyued in my mynde: it shall bee the greatest fruite I can receyue of my actes and my trauayles, if my mother Olympias, when she departeth thys lyfe, myght be consecrated to immortalitie. If she depart in my tyme, I wyll do the thyng my selfe. But if I shall be p̄uented by death, remembre you to perfourme that I haue determined: And therupon he dismissed hys frendes from hym, and continued manye dayes in the same place.

rebellion of
e Grekes
hicke Alex-
der had pla-
ce at Cata-
ctra,

Whiles these these thinges were a doynge in India, the Greeke souldiours that had lande and habitacyon appoynted them at Catabactra, through a sedicio þ chaused emonges them, rebelled agaynst hym: Not so much for anye hatred they bare hym, as for feare of punishmente.

ment. For they kylled diuers of theyr chiefe rulers: and assemblyng in force togethers, tooke the castle of Bactria, that was negligently kept, and procured the Bactrians to rebell with them. Athenodorus was the chiefe Athenodorus amonges the, who tooke vpon him the name of a king, not so muche for the desyre of the kyngdome, as by auctoritie to make him selfe of power to conuey him self and others home into his countrey. But one Bicon of hys Bicon owne nation became hys enemye, and conspiryng agaynst hym, dyd bydde hym to a banquet, where he was slayne by one Borus Macerianus. The next day folowynge, Bicon assembled the Greekes together, perswadyng them that he slewe Athenodorus but in hys owne defence, whose purpose was to haue destroyed hym. But there were some that perceyued hys policye: and suspicion was spread amonges the rest: So that the Greekes fell to armes of purpose to slea Bicon. But suche as were chiefe, mitigated the wrath of the multitude, and contrarye to his expectation was deliuered from that present perill. Yet he coulde not be so contented, but within a whyle after, conspyred agaynst them that saued hys lyfe, whose falshode known, they toke both him and Borus, determining that Borus shoulde be put to death out of hande, and that Bicon shoulde ende his lyfe by tormentes. As they were tormenting of hym, the Greeke souldiours sodaynlye in a furye (for what cause it is vncertayne) ranne to armes, the noyle of whome being hard with them that had the charge of Bicon, dyd let hym at libertie, fearyng that the rumour had bene made for hys deliuerie. He as he was naked came runnyng amonges the Greekes, where as they were assembled: whose miserable estate so sodainlye chaunged theyr myndes, that they

they willed him immediatly to be set at libertie.

By this meanes Bicon being twise deliuered from death, retourned into his countrey with the Greekes, leauyng the coloupe wherunto he was appoynted by Alexander. These thynges were done in the confines of Bactria and Scythia. In the meane season the king of the two nations whiche we spake of before, sent an hundred Embassadors vnto Alexander, whiche being men of goodly personages, rydde in wagons seemely apparayled, hauyng garmentes of linnen cloth embzdded with golde, and empaled with purple. They declared that the cause of theyr comyng was to yelde them selues, theyr citie, theyr countrey, and theyr libertie, (whiche they had kept inuolately by so manye ages) to his will and appoyntment. Of whiche theyr submissio, the Goddes (they sayed) were auctours, and not anpe feare: for they were contented to yelde them selues before they had proued theyr power with hym. The kyng called a councell, and receyued them vnder his protection, appoyntyng to them to paye such tribute as they before payed to the Arachosians. And besides to sende two thousand fye hundred horsemen to serue him in his warres: all whiche thinges they performed obedientlye. This done he made a great feast, wherunto he inuited those embassadors, & his lordes. He vsed therein sumptuous preparatio, ordeinyng a.C. beddes of golde to eate vpon: whiche beyng set a small distaunce one from another, wete drawen about with curtaynes garnyshe with golde and purple. In that feast there was shewed and sette fourth all the excellence and voluptuousnes, which either by long custome was vsed among the Persians, or by corruption of theyr old blages taken by emonges the Macedons: the byces of

of both those nations beyng there mingled and myxed
togethers. There was at that feast one **Diorippus** of **Diorippus.**
Athens, a notable champion, by reason of hys excellent
force well known vnto the kyng, whome certayne
enuyous and malicious persons, betwixt earnest and
pastyme dyd reprove, that he was geuen to fatte hys
bodye as an vnprofitable beast: And when that other
went to the battaile, he would annoynt hys bodye with
oyle, and prepare him selfe to eat. Emonges other that
bled wordes of despyte against hym, there was at the
same feast one **Hortatus** a **Macedon**, who in his dromedary
Hortatus.
kenne challenged **Diorippus**, that if he were a man,
he should fyght the campe with hym the next daye vpon
lyfe and death, where as the kyng should iudge either
hym to be rashe, or thother to muche a dastard. **Dior-**
ippus then laughing to scorne the pryde and arrogan-
cy of the souldiour, accepted his proffer. The next daye
they were more earnest to goe to the combatte, then they **A combatte.**
were before in making of the challenge: therefore when
the kyng sawe them so bent, and that they woulde not
leauethey purpose, he consented to theyr will.

There were great numbets of men assembled at the
combatte, emonges whome there were manye **Greci-**
ans, whiche fauoured **Diorippus** parte. The **Mace-**
don came into the **Lystes** armed at all peeces, holding
in hys left hande an yron buckeler and a speare, and in
hys ryght hand a casting launce: and haupng his sword
besydes gyrt to hys syde, was furnished as though he
should haue fought with manye meere at once. **Diorip-**
pus came fourth annoynted with oyle, with a garland
vpon his head, and haupng a redde cloth wrapt about
hys left arme, held in his ryght hande a great knottye
cudgell. The diuersitie of theyr furnyshement brought
euery

euery man in a wonderfull expectation. For they could not thinke it onely a rashenes, but a madness for **Diorippus** that was naked, to matche with the other that was armed. The **Macedon** thinking to kill hys aduersary befoze they should come to hande stripes, threw at him his launce, whiche **Diorippus** auoyded with bending of his body, and befoze that he coulde charge hys pyke he leaped to him, and with hys cudgell brake the same a sonder. When the **Macedon** had lost bothe hys weapons, he beganne to drawe his sworde: but **Diorippus** preuēted him with a cloase, and taking both hys feete from vnder him, threw him to the earth, and there plucking his sworde from hym, set hys foote vpon hys necke, and helde vp his cudgell to haue stricken out hys braynes, if the king had not caused him to stay his hād. This tryumphe ended with displeasure bothe vnto the **Macedons**, and vnto **Alexander** him selfe: specially because this thyng was done in the **Indians** presence: fearing lest the valiauntnes of the **Macedons**, famed so muche in the world, might therby come into contempt. Herupon **Alexander** grudging at **Diorippus**, bare his eares open to the accusatiō of the enuious. They within a fewē daies after had caused a golden cup to be purposely coueyed out of the way: which the ministers hauing imbeveled, made complaint vnto **Alexander** of the losse therof. Oft times men shewe lesse constācy in countenance, then in the offense it self. For in theyr complaint **Diorippus** perceyued by theyr looks, that they noted him as y^e thiefe, which he could not endure, but partying out of the feast (after he had wrytten a letter to the king) he killed him selfe. **Alexander** was very sorre for hys death: whiche he tooke for no token of repentaunce, but rather of indignation. For afterwarde it appeared through

through the ouermuch reioysing of his enemies, that he had bene falsely accused. The embassadours of the Indians that were dimitted home, within a few dayes after returned againe, presenting vnto Alexander. CCC. horses, a thousand and thyrtye wagons, euery one drawn with. iiii. horses, certeine vestures of linnen cloth, a thousand Indian tergets, and an hundred talentes of whyte Iron, both Lyons of a rare bignes, and Tigris þ were made tame, the skinnes of great Lizards, and the shelles of certayne fishes. The kyng then commaunded Craterus to conduct hys army along the riuer: wherupō he sailed, and he embarking such as were wont to accompany him, with the streame passed into the boundes of the Mallians, and from thence came vnto the Sabzacans, which was a nation of great power, not ruled by kinges, but by a gouernement of þ people. They had gathered together. vi. M. footemen, and vi. M. horsemen, and. v. C. armed wagons, and had chosen thre capitaines that were approued men of warre. But when suche as inhabited next vnto the riuer (the bankes being full of villages) saw all the riuer so farre as they could view, ouerspread with shypes, and the armour glystering of so many men of warre, they were amased with the straungenes of the syght, and thought that some armye of the Goddes, or els Bacchus (whose name was famous emonges those nations) had bene come emonges them. The crye of þ men of warre, with the clashing of the cares, and the straunge noyse of the mariners, exhorting one another, filled full theyr fearefull eares. They ranne therfore emonges theyr countrey men whiche had assembled theyr force, declaring theyr madnes if they would contend with Goddes. For they layed the shypes coulde not be numbred, that caried those

Sabzacans.

Muscians.
Paromisi-
dians.

Orcanus'
king of the
Persians.

Saba.

those invincible people: With which wordes they put
suche feare amonges the men of warre of theyr owne
nation, that they sent immediatlye Embassadours to
yealde them selues. When he had receyued theyr sub-
myssion, he came the fourth day into another countrey,
the people wherof durst no moze withstand him, the
rest did: and there he builded a citie which he named A-
lexandria: and from thence entred into a countrey, the in-
habitours wherof be called Musicians. There he under-
stoode by the accusatiō of the Paromisdians that Des-
terioles (whome Alexander had appoynted lieutenant
amonges them) had ruled in excessive pride & couetous-
nes, and therfore commaunded him to bee put to death.
And Oriatres lieutenant of the Sactrians beyng al-
so accused, was not onely acquitted, but also had a grea-
ter rule committed vnto him. When he had subdued the
yttremost partes of the Musicians, he put a garrison in
theyr citie, and went from thence to another nation of
the Indians called Persians, of whome Orcanus
was king, which with a great power gotte him selfe in-
to a strong citie, whiche Alexander wanne the third day
after he began his siege. Upon the taking of the towne,
Orcanus fled into the castle, and set embassadours to
treate of peace. But before they were come to Alexan-
ders presence, two towers of the castle fell with a great
crashe, by the ruines wherof the Macedons gotte into
the castle, where Orcanus which with a few standing
at defence, was slayne, the castle being rased, and all
that were within solde as slaues. Alexander came into
the boundes of Saba, where besides many holdes that
yealded vnto him, he tooke the strongest citie of y^e coun-
trei by force of a myne. It seemed a monstrous thing
vnto the Indians, (being ignorant of such policies of
warre

warre) for armed men to come fourth of the grounde
 in the middes of theyr citie, wheras there appeared be-
 fore no signe of any waye vnder the earth. Clytarchus
 doth write, that there were foure score thousand Indi-
 ans slaine in that countrey, besides many prisoners sold
 as slaues. The Molicans in the meane time rebelled,
 for the oppression of whome Phiton was sent thither:
 who toke the prince of the nation prisoner, and brought Phiton.
 him to Alexander, whome he caused to be hanged vpo
 a crosse as the aucthour of the reuolte, whiche done,
 returned agayne to the riuer where as he had wylled
 hys nauye to tarpe for him. The fourth daye after pas-
 sing downe the stream, he came to a towne at the en-
 trey of the kyngdome of Samus: The kyng wherof Samus.
 had newly yealded him selfe, but the citizens dyd shut
 theyr gates, and woulde not be at commaundement:
 Whose small numbze Alexander regarded so litle, that
 he sente foue hundred Agrians vnto theyr gates to
 proffer them the skyrmishe, to the entent by retyrnyng li-
 tle and litle, they might draw them out of theyr strenght:
 thinking that they woulde followe in the chace, when
 they shoulde see theyr enemyes flyng. The Agrians
 dyd as it was appoynted them: for when they had once
 prouoked theyr enemies, they turned theyr backes, and
 the Indians followed them, tyll they came to the em-
 bushment where the king laye. Then the Agrians tur-
 ned, and the fight was renued agayne, so that of thre
 thousand Indians, there were fife hundred slaine, & a
 thousand taken, the rest recouered againe the citie. But
 the end of the victoie was not so pleasaunt, as it appea-
 red in the beginning: for the Indians had so inuenomed
 theyr swordes, & such as were hurt, died of their woun-
 des. And the Physicians could not deuise the cause of so
 strange

straunge a death: for euen the verye lyght hurtes were vncurable. The Indians trusted that Alexander thowwe hys rashenes might haue come within that daunger, whiche by chaunce fighting emonges the thickest, **Ptolomeus** escaped unhurte. **Ptolomeus** was lyghtly wounded vpon his left shoulder: who beyng in a greater daunger, then the greatnes of his wound shewed, caused the king to be careful of him. For he was nere of his kinne, and as some thought **Philip** was hys father: but it is certaine that his mother was **Philip** hys concubine. He was one of them that had the charge of the kinges person, a valiaunt man of warre, and yet more famous in the faculties of peace. He was moderate bothe in hys apparaile, and liuing: liberall, easy to be spoken to, and without any such heyght of minde, as is wont to bee in men descended of bloud royall: by reason of which qualities, it is vncertayne whether he was better beloued with the king, or with the rest of men. That was the first occasion he had to proue howe the myndes of men were affectionat towardes him: for euen in that daunger the **Macedons** began to diuine of hys fortune, wherunto afterwarde he ascended. They had no lesse care of **Ptolomeus**, then of the king himselfe: who vsed hym so familiarly, that when he was weried eyther with trauaile or care of mind, would sit for his solace with **Ptolomeus**: & at that tyme caused hys bedde to be brought into his owne chaumbre. When **Ptolomeus** was laied there, he fell sodainly in a profound sleape, in the which it seemed that a dragon offered to him an hearbe out of his mouth for the healyng of hys wounde, and takyng away of the venime. When he awaked, he declared hys dreame, and shewed both the colour and fashon of the herbe, affirming he could knowe it, if any man coulde finde

fynde it out. That same was sought by so many, that at length it was found, and being put vpon the wound, the payne streight wayes celled, and the skarre wyth- in short space was closed. When the indians were disapoynte of the hoape they had conceived that waye, they yelded them selues and theyr citie. From thence Alexander wente into the next countrey called Bathalia, the kunge wherof called Meris left the citie and fledde into the mountaynes: so that Alexander toke the same, and destroyed all the countrey, syndynge both a wonderfull pray of shcape, of cattail, and of corne.

Meris kynge
of Bathalya.

There he tooke Pilotes that knewe the riuer, and came vnto an Island which stode in the myddes of the streame, where he was compelled to remaine the longer, because the Pilotes beyng negligently kept, were escaped awaye. He sent therfore to seke out other: but when he coulde fynde none, there entered a vehement desire into hys head to visite wythout anye guyde the ocean Sea, and the ende of the worlde, commyttynge hys owne lyfe, and the lyues of so many thousandes, to a ryuer whiche none of them had knowe. They sailed as men ignorant of all places they came vnto: whether howe farre the Sea was distant from them, what nacyons did inhabyte the countreys there aboutes, or whether the mouth of the riuer were nauygable for Gallies or no. In all these thynges they were ledde by a blinde and doubtfull imaginacyon, hauyng no other comforte in theyr rashe enterpryse, but onely that they trusted theyr contynuall felicitye. When they had gone forwardes foure hundred furlonges, the shypmaisters tolde the kynge that they felte the ayre of the sea: whereby they knewe that the Ocean was at hande. Therat he reioysed greatly, and exhorted the mariners,

¶ C. i.

that

that they woulde in al that they myght, make way with theyr oares to brynge hym to the syght of the ende of the worlde, wyche he had so longe desired. Nowe (quod he) our glozy is perfitte, when our manhode is such þe nothing can stay vs: Now the worlde is come in to our handes without anye further hasarde of warre or shedding of bloude.

Nowe synce the boundes þe nature hath wrought bee so neare at hande, we shall shortly see thinges vnknewen sauynge to the immortall goddes. Yet notwithstanding he sette certayne vpon land to take some of the countrey men, by whome he trusted to haue knowe moze certaintie of the truthe. When they searched out theyr cotages, at length they founde out certayne that were hydden: Whiche beyng demaunded howe farre the sea was from them, they made aunswere that they neuer heard it named, but they sayed that within three dayes saylynge they shoulde come vnto a place, where as a brakylhe water did corrupt the freshe: By whiche wordes the mariners vnderstode that they ment the Sea, of the nature wherof the people were ignoraunt. Then the mariners robed cherefully: their desire growynge euer the greater, as they approached neere vnto the place, which they hooped to be the ende of their trauaile. The third daye they came where the sea and the riuer toynded together, mixing with a small floude theyr waters that were of a contrary nature. Then because the tyde was somewhat agaynst them, they haled towards another Ilande standing in the myddes of the riuer, which beinge an easy place to lande at, the Macedons ran about to seke byrtuals, in succie (as they thought) beyng ignoraunt of the chaunce that came vpon them. The thirde houre accordynge to the ordina-
rye

rye course, the tyde came from the Sea, and wyth
 hys force dyd dzyue the streame backwarde, which at
 the firste beyng but stayed, was afterwarde so behe-
 mentlye repulled, that it caused the water to retorne
 backwarde wyth greater fury then any swifte streame
 is wout to runne. The comen sort that knewe not The nature
of the Ocean
was unknowen
to the
Grecians
 the nature of the Ocean, thought the same to be a wo-
 derfull matter, and that it had bene a token sente to
 them for the goddes wrath: and whyles they were in
 that imaginacion, the Sea swellinge more and more,
 ouerflowed the land, whiche they sawe before daze: and
 as the water rose, the shippes mounted, and all the na-
 uy was disperkled here and there. Suche as were
 vpon land were amaled with þe sodeinenes of the thyng,
 and ran fro all partes in great feare vnto theyr shippes.
 But in a tumulte hast doth hurte, and giueth impedy-
 ment. Some there were that went about to set theyr
 shippes forwarde: other forbad rowyng and remoued
 not at all. Other whyles they made haste awaye, and
 woulde not tary to take in their company, moued vne-
 aptly, and could make no waye. Some, when they sawe
 them presse a shipbord in such thronges, for feare of ta-
 kyng in to many, woulde receyue none at all: So that
 both multitude & small numbre, was a let vnto the hast
 they made. The crye that some made in biddinge men
 tary, and the noise that other made willinge them to go
 forwarde, with their voyces that differed, and agreed
 not in one effect, toke awaye the vbleboth of their syghte
 and hearinge. The mariners could not helpe þe matter,
 whose wordes in the tumult coulde not bee harde, nor
 theyr commaundementes. obserued amonges men in
 feare and out of order. The shippes therfore dashed
 one agaynst an other, the Oares crashed a sonder, and

euery shippe either thruste forwarde, or put backe another. No man woulde haue iudged it to be one nauye, but rather two sondre fighting a battail together vpon the Sea. The prores dyd strike agaynst the pappes: such as went befoze troubled them that came after, and the wordes of men in theyr wozath came vnto strypes. By y tyme the fludde had ouerflowen all the playnes therabout, so that nothyng appeared aboue the water sauyng the hilles, whiche seemed lyke lytle Ilandes, wherunto many did swimme & lest theyr shippes for feare. Whyles the nauye thus dysparkled a brode, partly stode a floote, whē they happened in any balley, and partly stycked vpon the ground, if they dyd hit vpon the flattes, accordyng to y ground which was ouerflowen: sodeinlye there came an other terroz greater then the fyrste. For when the Sea began to ebbe, the water fell backe agayne into hys wonted course, wyth so great violence, as it came forwarde and restored the syght of the lande, whiche befoze was drowned as in a depe Sea. The shippes then forsaken of the water fell vpon theyr sides, and the fieldes were strowē with broke boordes and with peces of Dares. The souldyers durst not goe fourth to lande, and yet were in feare to tarpe a shipbozd lokyng euer for some greater mischiese to come, then that they sawe presēt or paste. They coulde scarfly beleue that they sawe a lufred, which was shipwacke vpon the land, and y Sea within a tuer. And they thought no ende coulde come of thys mischiese: for they knewe not that the fludde shoulde shortly retorne agayne, and set theyr shippes afloat. And therefore they imagined to them selues manyne and all extremities. The monsters also of the Sea, whiche after y water was paste, were left on drye land

land, put them in greate feare. The nyght approached, and Despayze brought the kunge into a greate agonie. Yet no care coulde so ouercome hys hart (that was inuincible) but that he watched all nyght, and sente horsemen to the mouth of the riuer, to bringe him word whā the tide came. He caused two shippes that were broke to bee amendyd, and suche as were ouerwhelmed, to be hoised vp agayne, warning all men to lie in waite and bee in redynes agaynst the water shoulde rise. When he had consumed all that nyght in watchinge, and gyuing exhortacion to hys men, streight wayes the horsemen returned a mayne gallop, and the flud followed them: which mildly encreasing, began to raise agayne their shippes, and when it had once ouerflown the bankes, þe whole nauye began to moue. The all þe coast reboüded wyth þe vnmeasurable reioicinge þe souldiers and mariners made for their saulſuarde, wherof they were before in Despayze. When they sawe the danger passe, they inquired wyth wonder one of an other, by what reason the sea could so soone after that maner ebbe and flowe, and debated the nature of that elemēt, which one while disagreed, and an other while was obedient and subiect to the time. The kynge coniectureinge by the signes he had seene before, that after the sonne risinge the tyde woulde serue hys purpose to present the matter, at midnight wyth a fewe shippes he fleted down the streame, and passing out at the mouthe of the riuer, entred foure hūdred furlonges into the sea, where attayning the thing that he desired, made sacrifice to the goddes of the Sea, which were worshipped in those countreyes, & returned again vnto hys nauye. From thence the next daye he returned backwardes agaynst the streame, and arriued at a salt lake, the na-

ture wherof beyng vnknowen, disceyued many that rashely entered into the water: for theyr bodyes by and by became full of scabbes, which disease taken by some, the contagyon therof infected many other. But they founde that oyle was a remedy for the same. Alexander lyeng still with his army, waitinge for the spryng time of y^e yere, sent Leonatus before by the lād waie where he thought to passe, for to dygge welles, because the countrey was verye drye and destitute of water. In the meane season he builded many Cyttes, and commaunded Nearchus and Onesicritus (that were most experte of usuall thinges) with his strongest shippes to passe into the Orceā, & to go so farre forwarde as they myght wyth suretye, for to vnderstande the nature of the sea: and willed them at theyr returne, to lande either wythin y^e riuer, or els wythin Euphrates. Wheⁿ y^e winter was well passed, he burned those shippes which he occupied not, and conueyed hys armie by lande. After ix. encampynge, he came into the countrey of y^e Arabians, and from thence in ninte dayes came amonges the Gedrosians: which beyng a free nacyon, by a generall counsaile had amonges them, yealeded them selues: of whome there was not any thinge demaunded, sauyng onely victuals. The. v. day he came vnto a riuer which the countrey meale Barabon beyōd the which there late a barren countrey greatly destitute of water, through y^e which he passed, and entered amonges the Horitans. There he betoke the greater parte of hys armie to Ephestion, & parted hys souldiers that were light armed wyth Ptholomeus & Leonatus, & so wasted y^e countrey with thre armies at once, & toke great praies. Ptholomeus burned towardes the Sea, Leonatus vpon the other hand, and Alexander him selfe in y^e middes. In y^e countrey

Nearchus.
Onesicritus

Arabians
Gedrosians

Barabon

Horitans.

countrey he builded also a cytie, and brought men out of Arrachosia to inhabite it. From thence he came amonges the Indians, whiche lienge vpon the Sea coast, do inhabyte a greate countrey, that is waste & desert. They vse no trafficke, entercourse, nor couersaciō with eny of their neighbours: but the desertnes of their countrey hath made them sauage, beinge wild of their owne nature. They ware long nailes, which they neuer cut, and long here, that was neuer clipped. They made their howles of the shelles of fishes, and of other thynges that the Sea cast vp: And beinge clad wyth the skynnes of wilde beastes, ate fishe dzyed wyth the Sunne, & fedde vpon such monstrous fishes as the Sea cast vpon the land. Here the Macedons consumed their victuals, and first endured scarcitie, and after wardes extreme hunger, searchoyge out in euerye place the rootes of palmes which is the onely tree that groweth in that countrey. But when that kynde of nourishment fayled them, they killed their cariage beastes, and absteyned not from their horses: whereby lackyng beastes to beare theyr baggage they were enforced to consume with fier the spoyles of their enemyes, whyche had caused them to trauaile into the vttermoost boundes of the Orient. After their famine followed a pestylence: for the vnaccustomed nouryshmente of the vnhollsome meates they did eat, wyth the trauaile of theyr iourney and the care of myndspred diseases amonges them, in suche sort, that they coulde neither continue in a place, nor yet go forwarde wythout greate destruction.

Hunger oppressed them when they tarped: and the pestilence was more behement euer as they went forwarde. The fieldes therfore were strowed full of men that were halfe dead, and halfe alue. And such as were

The famine
that fell a-
monges the
Macedons

but smally sicke, were not hable to followe tharmye: it marched wyth such speade: for euerye man thought to further so muche hys owne saueguard, as by makynge hast he could get befoze his fellows. Such as fainted, and could not followe, desired both such as they knewe and knewe not, to helpe them forwarde. But they had no beastes wherupon to set them: and the souldyers, coulde scarcely beare theyr owne armour, which had the imminent mischiefe that fell vpon other men, represented befoze theyr owne eyes. Wherfoze, whē they were often called vpon, they woulde not vouchsafe once to loke backe: feare had so taken away all compassion fro them. Then they which were lefte behind, cried vnto the goddes and theyr kynge for helpe, allegynge that they were all of one religion, whiche was a bande for one to releue another. But when they had cryed longe in vayne vnto theyr deaf eares, throught desperacyon they raged, wysshynge the like end to theyr frendes and companions, & theyr selves endured. The kynge troubled both wyth sorowe and with shame because heard, none els shoulde bee the cause of so great destruction of hys men, dyd wyte to Phzathaphernes ruler of the Parthenians to sende to hym vpon Camelies, bycualles in redies to bee eaten, and certifyed the princes of the countreis therabout of his necessity, which did not slacke the tyme, but made prouision accordeinge to his will. Thus, hys army deliuered onely fro famine, was brought wythyn the boundes of the Gedrosians: And forasmuch as the same was a countrey fertill of all thinges, he thought good to stay there awhile with rest to recover againe his feeble souldiers. There he receyued letters from Leonatus, howe he had wonne the victorie of the Hoptans, which encountred him

hym with. viii. thousande footemen, and fyue hundred
 horsemen : and was aduertised also from Craterus,
 howe he had taken and put in holde Dines & satias. Dines.
 pes noble men of Perse, & went about to rebell. satiaspes. Alexan-
 der also vnderstanding that Memnon was dead, gaue
 the charge of the countrey, wherof he had the rule, vn-
 to Siburtius, and afterwarde went into Carmania. Siburtius.
 Aspastes was gouernour of that nation : who beyng Carmania.
 suspected of innouation, whiles Alexander was in In-
 dia, mette hym on hys waye. But he dyssimulynge hys
 pye, entertayned hym gentlye, and dyd to hym his ac-
 customed honour, till such tyme as he had better proufo
 of the matter, whiche was layed agaynst hym. When
 the prynces of India had, accordyng to hys appoynt-
 ment, sent out of all countreyes vnder hys Emperre,
 great plenty of horse and other beastes, bothe of cari-
 age and of draught, he gaue cariage agayne to all me
 that wanted, and restored theyr armour to the former
 bewtifulnes, and excellencye. For they were come into
 a countrey loynyng vpon Perse, whiche both was ha-
 boundaunt of all thynges, and also quietly established
 vnder his subiection. He thought it then a tyme to coun-
 terfeyt Bacchus in the glozy and fame, whiche he gote
 amonges those nations. Whether it were a triumphe &
 Bacchus fyrst instituted, or a pastyme of humbled in-
 drunkennes, Alexander was determined to counterfeyt
 his doinges, hauing his minde puffed vp aboue mans
 estate. He commaunded therfore all the villages throug-
 out & which he should passe, to be strowen with flowres The triumph
 and garlandes, and wyne to be set fourth befoze euery that Alexan-
 mans doare, for all men that woulde drinke. He caused der made in
 wagons also to be made of largenes, hable to cary great his retourne
 numbers : & decking the same with precious furnimētes out of Inde,
 the

the king went for most with his frendes, & next to them his garde, wearing vpon theyr heades garlandes of flowers, some playing vpon flutes, & some vpon harpes: Euery one generally through charmy decked his chariot according to his habilitie, & substaunce, whereas they geuen to banquetting, dyd hang theyr ryche armour besydes them. Alexander with such as he called to his companye, was caried in a chariote laden with cuppes of gold, and other golden vessel: he with his drunken army, marched thus. vii. dayes together in ostentation of the pray they had gotten: Wherin they shewed such dissolutenes, that if one. Wh. of the subdued people durst, during that time haue geue them the onset, they myght haue taken them prisoners, and led them away in triumphe: But fortune which hath appoynted both fame and estimation to thinges, turned all this disorder vnto his glory. For both the age that was then, and the posteritie that came after, merueyled, & tooke it for a wonder, that he durst go so dissolutely amonges those nations, not yet established vnder his Impyre, the barbarous people reputing his rashnes, for an assured confidence. But shedding of bloude ensued after thys triumphe. For prince Aspatis (spoken of before) was commaunded to be put to death: so that hys excellence in voluptuousnes was no let vnto his crueltie, nor crueltie impediment to hys voluptuousnes.

(..)

The tenth booke

Fol. 206.

of Quintus Curtius, of the actes of
Alexander the great, king of
Macedon.



ABout the same time, Cleander, Si-
talces, Agathon, and Heracō, which
by the kinges appoyntment had put
Parmenio to death, returned to him
bringing with thē. v. thousand fote-
men and a thousand hozsemē. There
were manye accusers that followed
them out of the prouince, wherof they had the gouer-
nauce: Whole behauour there was suche, that the ac-
ceptable seruiſe they had done to Alexander in kyl-
ling of Parmenio, could be no ſatisfaction for the multitude
of the offences they had committed. They vſed ſuch an
vniuerſall ſpoyle, not abſteyning from the temples, nor
from ſacred thynges. The virgins alſo and great la-
dies of the countrey, whome they had rauished, com-
playned of them: lamenting the ſhame they had ſuſtei-
ned. They vſed ſuch couetouſnes and inordinate luſt in
theyr aucthoritie, that it cauſed the name of the Mace-
dons to bee hated amonges thoſe nations. And yet e-
monges all the reſt, Cleanders offence was moſt hor-
rible, which rauishing a virgin of noble bloud, gaue her
to hys ſlaue to vſe as hys concubine. The more parte
of Alexanders frendes were not ſo much offended with
theyr crueltye and ſoule actes (wherof they were ac-
cuſed,) as with the remembraunce of Parmenio hys
death, which they kept in ſilence, leſt the rehearſall ther-
of, myght haue procured them fauour with the kyng:
reioy=

A notable
iustice.

reioysing that the kynges wrath was fallen vpon the ministers of his yre, and that no power nor aucthoritie gotten by euill meanes, coulde haue anye long continuance. Alexander hearing the cause, sayed that the counselors ouerslipt the greatest offere, which was the despayre of his sauegarde. For if they had eyther hooped or beleued that he should euer haue returned out of India, they durst neuer (he sayed) haue commytted anye suche offences. He commaunded them therfore to prison, and put .vi. hundred souldiours to death, that had bene the ministers of theyr crueltie: and they also were executed the same day, whiche Craterus had brought as auctours of the rebellion out of Persie. Within a whyle after Nearchus & Onecritus, whiche had bene commaunded by the king to searche the Ocean sea, returned vnto him, declaring some thinges by knowlege, and some by reporte. They shewed of an Ilande not farre from the mouth of Indus, which habounded with golde, & had no breede of horses emonges them: wherfore the inhabitours woulde geue a talent of golde for euerye horse brought from the mayne lande. They also told of great monstrous fishes (wherof those seas were full) which caried downe with the tyde, woulde shewe theyr bodies aboue the water, as bygge as a great ship, and followe theyr nauy with a terrible noyse. And whē they diued vnderneath the water, they troubled the seas, as it had bene in a shipwracke. These were thynges they had seene: the rest they had receyued by report of the inhabitours: as howe that the redde sea tooke hys name of kyng Erithrus, and not of the colour of the water. They shewed also of another Ilande not farre from the mayne lande growyng full of palme trees, where was a great woode, and in the myddes therof
 a woode

a pyller where as kyng Crithzus was buried, with inscription of such letters as be vsed in the countrey. They added besydes, that suche mariners as caried the merchauntes, and the Iudges of tharinpe, throughe couetousnes of the gold, which had bene reported vnto the, landed in the Iland, and were neuer seene after. Their wordes moued Alexander much, and put hym in a great desyre, to get more certaine knowledge of those parties: and therfore he commaunded them againe to the Sea, willyng that they should coast the land, tyll they came within the riuer of Euphrates, and from thence to come vp to Babilon against the streame. The thynges were infinite that he compassed in his head, for he determined, after he had brought the Sea coast of the Orient vnder his subiection, to go out of Siria into Aphrike, for the enuye he bare to the Carthagens: He purposed from thence to passe ouer the desertes of Numidia towards Gades, where he vnderstoode by the fame, that Hercules had planted his pillers: and so directing his iourney through Spaine (the whiche the Greekes of the riuer Iberus call Iberia) to goe ouer the Alpes, & so into Italy, till he should come to the coast where the next passage was vnto Epyrus. For this intent he gaue commaundement to his officers in Mesopotamia, that they should cut downe timber in the mount Libanus, and conuey the same to Taplagas a citie in Siria. And there to make gallies of such gretnes, that euery one of them myght be hable to carye .vii. oares vpon a banke, and from thence he willed the to be conueyed vnto Babilon. He sent commaundement to the kynges of Cyprus, to furnish them of yron, hempe, and sayles. Whiles these thynges were in dooing, he receiued letters from Dorus, and Taxiles, signifyeng that Abiazar was dead

The enterprises that Alexander determined.

Eudemon.

Palargades.

Darius.

Bagoas the Eunuche.

dead of a dysleale, and that Philyp hys lieutenaut in those parties was slayne, and they put to death that were the doers therof. Alexander therfore in the place of Philyp appoynted Eudemon that was capitayne of the Thracians, and gaue Abiazars kingdome vnto his sonne. From thence he came to Palargades a countrey of the Persians, wherof Darius was lord: which bothe in nobilitie and riches, exceeded all other men in those parties, as one that conueyed his pedigree from Cyrus, that sometyme was king of Perle. The riches his predecessours left him was great: and he by a long continuance in hys inheritaunce and auctoritie, had much encreased the same. He mette Alexander commyng thitherwardes, and presented both him, and his frendes with gyftes of sondry sortes: whiche were a multitude of horses, ready to bee ridden vpon, chariotes wrought with golde and syluer, precious stufte, excellent pearles and precious stones, weighty vessels of golde, robes of purple, and .iiii. thousand talentes of coyned siluer: But that his liberalitie was occasion of hys death. For when he had presented all the kinges frendes with gyftes as boue they desired, he honoured not with anye gyftes as all Bagoas the Eunuche, whome Alexander speciallly fauoured for the blage he had of him. There were therefore that gaue him adinonition howe much Alexander esteemed Bagoas. But he answered them, that his custom was to honour the kynges frendes & no haters: For that it was not the Persians maner to haue any estimation, which did effeminate them selues with so shamefull an abuse.

When his wordes were reported to the Eunuche, he bled the powre whiche he had gotten with dysonest meanes, to the destruction of that noble and innocent man.

man. For he did subornate certain lewde persons of Darius
sines countrey, to bring in false accusations against him,
whiche he willed the to present at such time as he should
appoynt vnto them. In the meane season, when soeuer
Bagoas gotte the king alone, he woulde fyll his credu-
lous eares with tales agaynst Darius, euer dyslimu-
ling the cause of his dyspleasure, lest therby he myght
lose the credit of his false report. The king had not Darius
yet in suspect of such matter as afterwarde was
laied against him: but he began to growe with him out
of estimation. His accusation was euer so secret, that he
could neuer get knowlege of the peryll that was priu-
ly wrought agaynst him. That importunate harlot, in
hys vyle conuersation had with the king, was mindfull
euer of the malice he bare to Darius, whome he would
not cesse to bring in suspicion of couetousnes or of rebel-
lion, so oft as he sawe Alexander bent to vse hym fa-
miliarly. By that time the false accusations were in re-
dines, whiche he had prepared to the destruction of the
innocent: whose fatall destiny that did appoche, coulde
not be auoyded. It chaunced that Alexander caused the
tombe wherein Cyrus his bodye was buried, to be ope-
ned, pretending to vse certaine ceremonies for the dead:
But thinking in verye deede y^e hys tombe had bene full
of golde and siluer, wherof there was a constaunt fame
amonges the Persians. But when it was viewed, there
was nothing found, but a rotten terget, two Scythian
bowes, and a sword. Alexander therfore caused the cof-
fin wherein Cyrus bodye was layed, to be couered with
the garment he accustomed to weare, and sette theru-
pon a crowne of golde, marueilyng that there was no
more sumptuousnes vfed in buriall of such a kyng, endu-
ed with so great riches, lying there but after the commo-

Cyrus tombe
was opened
by Alexander.

lozt

sort of men. When thys thyng was in doyng, Bagoas
 stode next vnto Alexander, who beheld him in the face
 and saied: what maruaile is it though the sepulchres of
 kunges be emptye, when lordes houses be not hable to
 receyue the golde they haue taken out from thence?
 For my part I neuer saw this tombe befoze: but I haue
 heard Darius repozte, that there were. iii. M. talentes
 buried with Cyrus. Therof (qd he) proceded Orsines
 liberalitie in winnyng your fauour by the gyfte of the
 thing, which he knew he could not keepe. When he had
 thus sturred vp Alexanders wzath agaynst Orsines,
 he pzesented thē, whome he had subozned to accuse him:
 By whose report, and by Bagoas surmised tales, Alex-
 ander was so incensed agaynst Orsines, that he was
 put in pzison, befoze he could suspect that he was accu-
 sed. The Eunuche was not contented with the destruc-
 tion of this innocent man, but at hys death layed vio-
 lent handes vpon him: vnto whome Orsines layed: I
 haue heard that womē in times past haue reigned, and
 bozne great rule in Asia: but it is now a moze straunge
 thing, that a geldyng shoulde haue the Tmpyre in hys
 handes. Thys was the ende of the most noble man e-
 monges the Persians, who was not onely an innocent
 in this matter, but suche one as bare singuler affection
 vnto Alexander, and had shewed great liberalitie to him
 and his. At the same time Phzadates, whiche was sus-
 pected to haue gone about to make hym selfe kyng, was
 put to death. Alexander began then to be muche intly-
 ned to the sheadpyng of bloude, and to bee credulous in
 hearyng of euyll report: prosperitie is of such a force to
 chaunge a mannes nature, wherin fewe men haue con-
 sideratiō of vertue. Thus he which a litle befoze would
 not condeinne Lincestes Alexander, when he was ac-
 cused

Alexander be-
 gan to be en-
 clined to the
 sheading of
 bloude.

cused by two wytnesses : that suffred dyuers of moze
meane estate to bee acquitted, though he it grudged hys
mynde, because they seemed not gyltye to other men :
And he whiche bestowed kyngdomes vpon hys ene-
myes, whome he had subdued, was in the ende so much
altered from hys former inclinatyon, that agaynst his
owne appetite, at the wyll of an harlot, he woulde
geue kyngdomes to some, and take a waye the lyues
from other. About the same tyme he receiued letters
of thinges doone in Europe: whereby he vnderstode,
that whiles he was in India, zopyrius his lieutenaunt
in Thrace made a iourney agaynst the Getes, where
by stormes and tempestes that sodainely rose vpo him,
he was destroyed and all his armye. When Seuthelos-
dylas vnderstode the defeate of that armye, he procu-
red the Odrysians that were his countrey men to reuolte:
So that all Thrace was in maner loste thereby, and
Greece stood in no great suertye.

The Getes.

Seuthelos-
dylas.

The writers of the actes of great Alexander, make
mention in this place of Calanus an Indian, that was
very famous in Philosophie, whiche by the perswasyon
of kynge Taxiles followed Alexander, & ended his lyfe
after a straunge sorte. When he had liued. lxxiii. yeres
without any disease, at hys commynge into Persia, he
felt a payne in his bealye, wherby coniecturyng that
the ende of hys lyfe was come, least suche a perpetuall
felicitie as he had liued in, shoulde be sported wyth any
longe dysease, or tormented wyth the multitude of me-
dicines, which phisicians vse to minister, required Alex-
ander that he myghte cause a fyre to bee made, and to
burne hym selfe in the same. The kynge began to dis-
suade him from hys purpose, thinking to haue broughte
him from the doyng of so horrible an acte: but when he

Calanus

perceiued with what stedfastnes and cōstancy he stood
in his entent, and that there was no waye to kepe him
anye lenger in lyfe, he suffred a fyre to bee made accor-
dyng to his will, wherinto Calanus dyd ryde on horse-
backe, makynge first his prayer to þe goddes of his coun-
trei: and takynge the Macedons by the handes, requy-
red them that they would spende that daye pleasauntly
in banquetynge wyth their kyng, whome within a while
he shoulde see at Babylon. When he had spoken those
wordes, he went merely into the fire, where as plynge
hys body comely, kept still þe same gesture & cōtēnāūce
at his death, which he was wont to vse. When the fyre
flamed, the trumpettes blew, the men of warre ma-
kyng such a shoute, as they accustomed goyng to þe bat-
taile, which rebounded vp to the skye, & the Elephantes
also made a terrible noyse. These bee the thynges that
sage writers do testifie of Calanus whiche was a no-
table ensample of an inuincible mynde, constantly bent
to suffer any aduersitie. From thence Alexander went
vnto Sula, wheras he toke to wife, & lawfullie maryed
Statyra Darius eldest doughter: Whose yonger sister
called Drypetis he gaue to wyfe vnto Ephestion: And
bestowed to the nūbre of .lxxx. virgins of the noblest of
all the nacions he had cōquered, to the principall Ma-
cedons, & to the chieft of his frēdes, because he would
not seeme alone to begin so straunge a custome. These
marriages were celebrate after the Persian maner, & a
pryncely feast prepared at þe espousayles: Wherat there
were .lx. M. geastes, to euerye one of whome Alexāder
gaue a drynkinge cuppe of golde. At the same tyme the
rulers of the cityes, which Alexander had subdued and
bulded, sent vnto hym .xxx. M. yonge souldiers þe were
all of one age, furnished wyth fayre armoure, apt to do
any

Alexander
married Sta-
tyra Darius
doughter
Drypetis

any enterprize of the warre, which he called Epigoni
that is to saye his successours. The Macedons at theyr
coming, seemed to be somewhat appalled, which wried
wyth longe warre, vsed often in assemblies to murmur
and speake mutinous wordes against the kinge. For
cause he had prepared these souldiours to restraine the
arrogancy of other, and gaue to them great benefites.
Harpalus, to whome the king had committed the charg Harpalus.
of the treasure, and reuenues at Babylon, hearynge of
the actes that Alexander had doone in subduinge the
more parte of the kynges of India, and hys successe to
be so prosperous, that nothinge coulde withstande him:
knowinge the insaciabie desire that was in Alexander
to visite farre countreyes, and to encrease hys glozve,
thought it shoulde be a harde matter for him to retorne
to Babylon againe. Wherfore he gaue him selfe to de-
lite and to luste, misusinge manye that were noble and
free women, & wallowed in all kinde of voluptuousnes:
Insomuch that he set vnto Athens for a famous harlot
called Potonice, to whome he both gaue many greate Potonice.
and princely giftes while she was aliue, and also after
her death spent. xxx. talentes vpon her tombe. Hauinge
in these and such other like voluptuous vanities consu-
med a great part of the treasure, When he vnderstoode
Alexander to be come out of India, & to vse extreme ius-
tice vpo his officers, that misused them, of whome they
had rule: (by reason he was priuy to his owne fowle co-
science) he feared the like might come to him selfe: And
therfore gathering together. v. M. talentes. and. vi. M.
mercenary souldiers, tooke þ way towardes Athens,
no mā willing to receiue him by the way. Whe he came
to Tenaron (where as a great nūbre of the mercenary Tenaron.
Greekes, which had bene discharged out of Asia were
assembled)

assembled he left his souldiers there, & went to Athens with his money: whē he was come thether, great numbꝛe of the citizens flocked about hym, moze for loue of his money, then for his owne sake: but specially ꝑ Orators, & suche as vled to make their gaine by oracions, and perswadyng of the peope: whōe by small rewardes he easely corrupted, to desēd his cause with the people. But afterwarde at a generall assemblie vꝑō the matter, he was comaūded to departe the citie, and so returned againe emonges the Greeke souldiers, by whōe he was slain. Therfoze with .xxx. shippes they passed ouer to Sunium, which is a point of the land in the territoꝛye of Athens, from whence they determined to haue entred into Athens haue. These thinges beinge knowen, Alexander that was sore moued aswell agaynst the Athenians as agaynst Harpalus, prepared a nauye to make warre in person immediately agaynst them. And as he was busied aboute the matter, he vnderstode by secreete letters, how both Harpalus had beene in Athēs, and corrupted with money the chiefe of the citie: And also howe that afterwarde by a councell of the people, he was commaūded to depart from thence, who returninge emonges the Greeke souldiours, was slayne by one of them by treason. These newes greatly reioyced Alexander, wherby he had occasyon to leaue of hys iourney into Europe: but he sente commaūdemēt to all the citie of Greece, that they should receiue againe all theyꝛ banished men, except such onely as had committed anye murther vpon theyꝛ owne countrey men. Although the Greekes knewe the same to bee the breach of their liberties, & their lawes, & the beginning of theyꝛ bondage, yet as mē that durst not disobey his will, they called home their banished men, & restored to them

Sunium

The death
of Harpalus.

them such of their goodes as did remaine. Onely þe Athenians, which euer defended obstinately the liberties of their comē wealth, & which had not bene accustomed to liue vnder þe obedience of any king, but vnder þe lawes & customes of their countrey, would not agree, that suche dredge of mē should lyue emonges thē, but did driue thē out of their boundes: redy to suffer any thing rather thē to receiue such, as some time were the rascal of al theyr citie, and then the refuse of all the outlawes. The tyme was come that Alexander mynded to dimysse hys olde souldiers, & sende them into theyr countrey: but he willed first. xiii. M. footemen & .ii. M. horsemen to bee chosen out to remaine still in Asia, which he iudged myght bee kept woth a small army, because (he thought) the guar- risons he had plated in many places, & the cities whych he had newly builded & filled with inhabiteurs, shoulde be hable to stay such as would attēpt any rebellio. But befoze he woulde make any diuision of suche as shoulde depart, & remaine, he caused a proclamation to be made þe al souldiers should declare their debtes (wherwith he perceiued many of them soze burdened): & though their debte did rise through their owne disordze & excelle, yet he was determined to discharge euerye man. But the souldiers thinkinge it had beene but a deuise, to try out the prodigall fro the rest, delaied þe time, & brought not in their declaraciōs. The kinge perceiued shame to bee þe let therof, & no disobedience or selfe will: And therfoze caused tables to be set vp throughout his cāpe, & .x. M. talentes to be brought fourth: Of all whiche treasure when theyr debtes were payed, accordynge to þe iust declaracion, there remained of talētes no more but. cxxx. Wherby it appeared that they whiche were the cōque- rours of so many riche nations, brought out of Asia

Alexander
payed al his
souldiers
debtes,

I mutinies
amonges the
souldiers.

more glory then spoyle. But after it was ones knownen that some should be dispatched, and some remaine still, they thought the kynge would haue establiſhed his kingdome perpetually in Asia. Wherfore like madde men, and bannysfull of all discipline of warre, they filled the campe full of sedicious wooordes, and came to the kynge more arrogantly, and with greater rigour, then euer they did before, all wyth one voyce, requiring to be discharged, shewing fourth the hoarynes of their heare, and their faces deformed with scarres. And herin they coulde not bee stayed, either by chastisment of their officers, or by anye reuerence of their kynge: but when he would haue spoken vnto them, they would not suffer him to bee hearde, but disturbed his tale wyth their tumultuous crye, & violent throng: protestinge openly that they would neuer moue one foote forwarde to anye place, excepte it were towardes theyr owne countrey. After a great space (because they thought that Alexander would incline to their purpose) they kept silence, &

Alexanders
woordes vnto
his souldiers.

stode in expectation what he would do. Then Alexander spake vnto them: what meaneth this sodaine trouble of mynde, this so malyppart, and unlawfull libertye? I am aſtraied to speake vnto you: you haue so manifestly broken your obedience towardes me. I am now become a king at the appoyntment of my people: you haue neither leſte me the lybertie to knowe you, to exhort you, nor to behold you. Being determined to sende some into theyr countrey before, & to bring y^e rest with me shortly after: I see them as well that shalbe now dispatched, cryinge and mutining, as those that I appoint to come with me. What a matter is this? Their crye is all alike, notwithstandinge that their cause is diuers. I would fayne knowe whether they complayne that departe, or they

they that tary styll. When he had spoken those wordes, they cried all (as it had beene with one mouth) that they complayned euery man. Then he saied: truly it can not be so: no? I can not be perswaded that you should all be greued for the cause ye declare, seeing the cause toucheth not the most parte of you: for I haue appointed moze to depart, then to remaine still. There must needes bee some greater mischiefe the appeareth, that should turne you all from me. Whe was it euer scene, that an whole army hath forsaken their kinge? The slaues runne not from theyr maisters all at once: but there is allwaies a shame in some to leaue them, whome the rest forsakes. But why do I forget that you be mad in your mindes? or why go I about to cure you that be incurable? I cōdemne from hencefurth all the good hoape that euer I conceiued of you, and am determined to worke no moze wyth you, as with my souldiers (seeinge ye will not bee mine) but with men vngratefull and vnmindfull of my goodnes. The cause of thys your madnes, is euen þa bīdāfice of your prosperitie, whereby you forget your old estate, fro the which ye be deliuered throught my benyfitte. You are men worthy to haue spent your lyues in your former beggery, seeing you cā better beare aduersitie, the prosperous fortune. Behold, you which a while ago were tributaries to the Illirians, & the Persians, do now disdain Asia, & the spoiles of so many nacions. You, which vnder Philip went halfe naked, nowe ye contemne robes of purple. Your eyes cannot endure any lenger to beholde the sight of golde and siluer. You desire agayne your wodden dyshes, your tergettes made of wickers, and your swordes couered with rust. I receiued you in thys simple estate, with .x. talentes in debte, when all my furnimentes exceded not in

balure. lx. talentes. Thys was the foundacyon of my
 actes, wherewith (wythout enuye be it spoken) I haue
 subdued the greatest parte of the world. Are you wea-
 ry of Asia, which hath ministred vnto you occasion
 of such glozy, that by the greatnes of youre actes, ye be
 made equall vnto y^e goddesses: do you all make suche hast
 into Europe, to forsake me y^e am your kynge: The more
 part of you shoulde haue lacked money to beare youre
 charges thether, if I of my beniuolence had not paid
 your debtes. Are you not ashamed, that haue robbed all
 Asia, to beare the spoiles of so many nacyns within
 your bellies, & now to retorne home to your wiues & chil-
 dren, vnto whome there be but fewe of you that are able
 to shewe any rewardes of your victory: For manye of
 you shalbe compelled to gage your armour, if ye forsake
 this good hoape, ye might receiue at my handes. These
 bee the good men of warre y^e I shall want, which of all
 their riches haue nothyng left them, but onely their co-
 cubines. The way lieth open for your departure: get you
 hence quickly out of my sight. I with the Persians shall
 defend your backes when ye be gone. I will hold none
 of you: deliuer myne eyes ye vngateful countremen, of
 y^e sight I see of you. Shall your parentes & children re-
 ceiue you with ioye, whē they shall see you retorne with-
 out your king: Shall they couet to mete suche, as bee fu-
 gitives, & forsakers of their prince: I truly shal triumphe
 vpon your departure: & wheresoeuer you shall be, I shall
 desire to be reuenged, honoring alwayes, & preferringe
 before you, those whiche ye haue left here with me.
 Nowe you shall knowe of what force an army is y^e lac-
 keth a kyng, & what moment doth consist in me alone.
 When he had spoken those wordes, he leaped in a fury
 from the iugement seate, and ranne into the thronge of
 the

the armed men: wheras he tooke with his owne hands
suche as had mutined most agaynst hym. Of whome
there beyng none that durst make resistance, he deli-
uered. xiii. to hys garde for to bee safely kept. Who
would thinke that an assembly, which a litle before had
spoken vnto theyr prince with suche fiercenes and ri-
gour, coulde haue bene so sodeynlye appalled for feare.
Whiche seeing theyr companions led to execution, durst
not moue, nor make anye attempt. But the inordinate
libertie they vsed before, and theyr seditious violence,
was then so stayed, that neuer one of them durst resyst
the king running amonges them, but were all astonied
for feare, & stood like men amased, with doubtfull yma-
ginations, looking what he would determine of the of-
fenders. Whether it were the reuerence they bare to his
name, because the nations that liue vnder kynges, are
wont to honour them as Goddes, or were it the maiesty
of his person, or els his owne assured constancy, ex-
ecuting his auctoritie with such violence, that put them
in feare: they shewed a notable ensauple of patience. For
they remained not onely without sturre or motion at the
execution of their companions, (whome they knew to be
put to death in the night time,) but also were moze dili-
gent in doing theyr duties then euer they were before:
pretermitting nothing pertaining to obedience, & natu-
rall affection towardes their prince. For the next daye,
when they came to the court, & were not suffred to enter,
but all shut out sauing the souldiours of Asia, they made
a sorrowfull crye and lamentation, which spread ouer all
the campe, protesting that they would not liue, if the king
continued styll in hys wrath. But he that was obsti-
nate in all thynges that he had once conceiued in hys
head, commaunded all the Macedons to kepe styll their
campe,

Alexanders
oration to the
straunge sould-
iours.

and assembled the souldiours straungers together, to
whome by an interpretour he made thys Oration. At
suche tyme as I came fyrst out of Europe into Asia, my
trust was to bryng many noble nations, and great
power of men, vnder myne Emperre and dominion:
wherin I was not deceiued. For belydes that the same
reported you to be men of valure, I haue founde in you
one thing more: which is, an incomparable obedience,
fidelitie, & affection towards your Prince. I thought
voluptuousnes had ouerflowen all vertue emonges
you, and that through your great felicitie, ye had bene
drowned in pleasures: But I fynde it otherwyle, and
perceyue that none obserue the discipline and order of
the warres, better then you doe, nor execute the same
with more actiuitie nor stoutnes: And beyng manfull
and valiaunt men, ye embrace fidelitie, no lesse then
you doe the rest. Thys thyng I doe but now acknowledge:
but I knewe it long ago: Which was the cause
that I chole you out of the youth of your nations, to
be my souldiours, and dyd incorporate you emonges
myne owne people, causing you to vse the same habite,
and the same armour: But your obedience and pati-
ence towards the auctoritie, appeareth much better
in you then in them. Therefore I haue ioyned to my selfe
in marriage, the daughter of Orates that is a Per-
sian: not dysdayning to beget chyl dren vpon a captiue.
And afterwarde desyryng more habundauntly to en-
crease the issue of my body, I tooke to wyfe the dought-
er of Darius, and was the aucthour that my neare
frendes lykewyle shoulde beget chyl dren vpon cap-
tiues: myndyng by thys holy couenaunt to exclude the
difference betwene the vyctorours and the vanquish-
ed. Wherfore you must now thynke that you bee not
soul-

souldiours vnto me adopted, but moze naturall: And that Asia and Europe is one kyngdome without anye difference. I haue geuen vnto you armour after the maner of the Macedons. I haue bzought all straungenes and noueltie into a custome: and nowc ye be bothe my countrey men and my souldiours, all thinges receiuing one fourme and fashion. I haue not thought it vnseemely for the Persians to shadow the customes of the Macedons, nor for the Macedons to counterfeit the Persians: seeing they ought to be vnder one law & custome, that should liue vnder one king. Whē he had made this oration, he comitted the custodye of his person vnto the Persians: he made them of his garde & his officers of iustice. By whome when the Macedons, which had geuen occasion of this seditio were led bound vnto execution, one of them that was moze aunciēt and of greater estimatio then the rest, spake after this maner. How long will you thus geue place vnto your will, in executing vs after the straungers maner: Your souldiours & countrey men be drawen to execution by theyr owne prisoners, before theyr cause is hard. If you haue iudged vs worthy of death, at least way chaunge the ministers of your wrath. This was a good admonishmēt, if he had bene patient to heare the trueth: But hys wrath was growē into a woodnes: so that whē he sawe them which had the charge of the prisoners stay a litle at the matter, he caused the prisoners to be tumbled into the riuer, and there drowned. Notwithstandyng the crueltie of this punishment, the souldiours were not stirred to any sedition, but repaired by rowtes vnto theyr capitaines, and vnto suche as were neare about the kyng: requiring that if there yet remained any infected with the same offence, that he should commaund them to be

to be put to death, proffering their bodies to bee punished & executed at his owne will. After it was known that the lieutenaut his shippes were geuen vnto the Persians, and that they were distributed into dyuers orders with suche names geuen vnto the as were vnto the Macedons, & that they were reiected with reproch, they could not then any leger containe them selues, nor suffer the dolour they had conceiued in their hartes, but with a great throng pressed to the court, wearing onely theyr nethermost garmentes, & leauing their weapons without the gate in token of repentaunce. There, with weeping, and all tokens of humilitie, they made request to be admitted to the kinges presence, & that he would be bouchsaufe to pardon thair offence: pacifying his wrath with the death of so many as he should thinke good, rather then to suffer them to liue in suche reproche: which except he would release, they protested they would neuer depart out of the place. When those thinges were declared vnto Alexander, he caused the court gates to be opened, and came fourth emonges them: whereas beholding theyr lamentation and repentaunce, theyr miserable behauour and affliction, he could not abstaine to weepe long tyme with them: and in consideration of theyr modestie, forgaue them theyr former offences. And after he had temperatly tolde them theyr faultes, and agayne comforted them with gentle wordes, he dyscharged many from the seruice of the warres, & sent them home liberally rewarded: wytyng to Antipater his lieutenaut in Macedon, that he should assigne the chiefe places in the theaters, at tryumphes, and open playes, where as they shoulde syt with garlandes on theyr heades: willyng that theyr children after their deathes, should enioye theyr fathers wages.

Alexander
was reconciled to his soul
diours.

He appointed Craterus to be theyr ruler, to whome in the place of Antipater he had committed the gouernemēt of Macedon, The Italie, and Thrace: sending for Antipater to repaire vnto him with a supplie of young soldiers. Alexander had receiued letters before, both from him, & Olimpias his mother: wherby dissension appeared to be betwixt them. For his mother accused Antipater, that he went about to make him selfe king: And Antipater did wryte how Olimpias did many thinges otherwise then dyd become her. Antipater dyd take hys calling away so greuouly in his hart, that he conspired therupon to poison Alexander: who hauing accomplished the matters that before he mentioned, went to Echatan (being in Media) to set order in the necessary affayres of his Empyre, and there ordeyned soleinne triumphes and feasting. It chaunfed Ephestion, whome the kyng specially loued, and vsed in place of a brother, to dye about the same tyme of a feuer: whose death Alexander tooke more sorowfullye, then can well be credited, committing in his dolour many thynges that were vnseemlyng for the maiestie of a prince. He commaunded Ephestions physicion to be hanged, as though he had dyed through his negligence. He laye embracyng of the dead bodye, and coulde hardlye be taken awaye by his frendes, but continued his sorow night and day. There be many other thinges wrytten in that behalfe, whiche be scarcely credible. But it is certayne that he commaunded sacrifice to be made vnto hym as vnto a God, and consumed in hys buriall & making of hys tombe, aboue xii. thousand talentes. As he was retourning to Babylon, the Caldean prophetes met him on the way, exhorting him that he shoulde not enter into the citie, for that it was signified, that if he went thither at that tyme, he should

Olimpias & Alexander's mother.

The death of Ephestion.

should be in great perill of hys lyfe. Notwithstanding he regarded not their admonishementes, but went forwardes in his iourney, according as he had appointed. For he vnderstode that embassadours were come thither from all regions, tarying for hys conning. The terrour of his name was so spread through the world, that all nations shewed an obsequiousnes towardes him, as though he had bene appointed to be their king. That caused hym to make hast towardes Babylon, to keepe there as it were a parliamēt of the whole world. When he was come thither, he receiued the Embassadours gently, and after wardes dyspatched them home agayn. There was about the same time a banquet prepared at one Thessalus Medius house, wherunto the kyng beyng bydden, came thither with sucher as were appoynted to keepe hym companye: But he had not so soone dronke of Hercules cuppe, but that he gaue a grunt as though he had bene stricken to the hart. And beyng caried out of the feast halfe dead, was so tormented with payue, that he required a sworde to haue kylled hym selfe. Hys frendes dyd publishe abroad, dronkennes to be the cause of hys dyscase: but in verye deede it was prepenised treason, the infamy wherof, the power of his successours dyd oppresse. The poison prepared long before, was deliuered by Antipater vnto Cassander his sonne, which with his brethren Philip & Folla, were wont to serue the kyng at meate. He was warned that he should not commit the same payson to any person, except it were to Thessalus or to hys brethren. Philip therfore and Follas, which were wont to take the say of the kinges cuppe, hauing the payson ready in cold water, mixed it with the wyne, after they had tasted it. When the fourth daye was come, the souldiers partly

Thessalus
Medius.

Alexander
was paysoned.

partlye for that they suspected he had bene dead, and partlye because they coulde not endure to want long hys syght, came sorowfullpe vnto the court, desyring to see the kyng, whiche by his commaundement were admytted vnto hys pzeience, by such as had the charge of hys person.

When they beheld him lying in that case, they made great sorowe and lamentation: for he seemed not to them to be the same theyz kyng, whome they were wot to see, but rather a dead corps. If theyz griefe were great, the sorow of them that stood next to the bed appeared much more, whome when Alexander beheld lamenting after that sort, he sayed vnto them: When I shall depart, you shall fynd a kyng worthy for such me as you bee. It is a thyng incredible, howe that, during the tyme the souldiours of hys whole army came to visite hym, he neuer altered countenaunce nor gesture, but continued in that kind of pzeience, he gaue vnto the fyrst, vnto the last man. When he had dympted the multitude, as though he had bene dyscharged of all debte of lyfe, he lay downe againe to rest his weake body: and his voyce beginning to fayle him, commaunded his frendes to come neare about him. Then taking his ring from his finger, deliuered it to Perdicas, and gaue therewith a commaundement that his body should be conueied to Hammon. They demaunded to whome he would leaue his kingdome. He sayed: to the worthiest. By which wordes it appeared that he foresaw the contention that was like to ensue vpon his death. Perdicas moreouer demaunded of him, whe he would haue diuine honours done vnto him: At such tyme (qd he) as you shal find your selues in felicitie. These were the last wordes Alexander spake, and shortlye after he dyed.

Am-

The sorowe
that was made
vpon Alexanders
death.

Immediately after his death, the court was full of howling, lamenting, and sorowe making: and by & by, as it had bene in a desert or a place solitary, all thinges were whist, & a sorowfull silence was spread ouer all, euery man beyng conuerted into ymagination, what shoulde become of the matter. The young men of the nobilitie, that were accustomed about Alexanders person, coulde not beare the greatnes of theyr dolour, nor keepe them selues within compasse of the court, but ranne about as me out of theyr wittes: wherby the cite was filled with heauines and complaint, and no kynd of lamentation pretermitted, that sorowe is wound to minister in such a case. Such therfore as were without the courte, vnderstanding this matter, aswell Macedons as other, came running thether, wheras the conquerours from the conquered, nor the victours from the vanquished coulde not be discerned: the sorowe was so indifferant to them all. The Persians called vpon theyr iust and mercifull Lorde, and the Macedons made inuocatio to him that was so valiaunt and gracious a kyng: And thus there was a certayne contention of sorowe amonges them. When did not vse theyr onely wordes of grieve and heauines, but also of grudge and indignation, that so youg a prince, beyng in the floure of hys age, and of his fortunate succeſſe, shoulde by the enuye of the Goddes, be so taken out of this world. They called to remembraunce what a cherfulness they had alwayes seene in his countenance, both when he lead them to the battaile, when he besieged or assaulted any cite, or whē he would geue any commendation to the woorthye in any assemblye. Then the Macedons repented that euer they had denyed him diuine honours: confessing them selues bothe wicked & vngratefull for depriuing him of any name, wher

wherof he was woorthie. And when they had continued long in the veneratiō and desire of him that was dead, then they began to pitye theyr owne case, whiche coming out of Macedon, were passed þr riuier of Euphrates, enionges the middes of their enemies, that vnwillingly receiued their newe gouernement. They sawe them selues left destitute, & the empire without any certaine heyre: for want of whome, euery one would go about to drawe the power of the state vnto hys priuate behoufe. And then they began to conceyue and forsee in their mindes the ciuill warres that did ensue, and that they should be enforced to shedde their bloud againe, not for the conquest of Asia, but for the title of some such one that woulde go about to make him selfe kyng: wherby their olde scarres should breake out agayne into newe woundes. And moze ouer þr suche as by reason of theyr age had beene discharged from the warres by their, noble & righteous kyng, should now be enforced to spende their liues in the quarell of some suche one as was but his souldiour. Whiles they were in these imaginaciōs, the night came on, & encreased their terrour. The men of warre watched in harneys, & the Babilonians looked ouer the walles, peeping out frō the toppes of their houses, to spye some certaintie howe þr matter went. There was none that durst kinde anye light: And because the bte of the eye dyd fayle, they layed theyr eares to heare the rumours and woozdes that were spoken: And many tymes they were astraied, whē no cause was: & when they met together in the narrow stretes, or darke lanes, they wold be amased, & suspect ech other as enemies. The persians after theyr accustomed maner, clypped theyr here, and boyth their wyues and childzen lamented the death of Alexander in mournyng garmentes,

with vnfaigned affection: not as a conquerour, and one that latelie had bene their enemye, but as their right- wise and naturall kynge. For they beyng accustomed to lyue vnder a king, could thinke no man moze worthy then he to rule ouer them. Thys sorowe was not con- teyned wythin þe walles of the Citie, but streight waies spredde ouer all the countrey theraboutes. And þe fame of so greate a mischiefe flynge throughtoute Asia, brought some tidynge therof vnto Darius mother.

She at the firste reposte tare a sunder the garment she ware, and put on mournynge apparayle: she pulled her heare, and fell downe grouelynge vpon the earth.

One of her neces late by her mournynge the deathe of Ephestion whome she had maryed, and in an vni- uersall heauines, bewayled the cause of her priuate so- rowe. But Syngambis alone susteyned all their misse- ries, & bewayled both her owne case and her neces: her freshe sorowe causing her to call to mynde thinges past. A man woulde haue iudged by her behauour that Da- rius had bene newly slayne, and that she had celebra- ted the funerals of bothe her sonnes together.

She dyd not onely lament the deade, but sorowed also for the liuyng. Who shall nowe (quod she) take care of these young women: or who can be like vnto Alexander: nowe we be taken prisoners agayne: nowe we be newly fallen from our dignitie and estate. After Darius deathe we founde one to defende vs. But nowe sence Alexan- der is gone, who wyll haue respecte of vs? Emonge these thinges she called to mynde, how Orchus the cruell kynge had slayne her father, and foure score of her byethern in one daye, and that of seuen children borne of hyr bodye, there was but one of them lefte alyue.

She sawe that fortune had aduaūced Dari⁹, and cau- sed him

The beha-
uour of Da-
rius mother
vpon þe death
of Alexander.

sed hym to flozyshe for a tyme, to the entente he might ende his life by greater crueltie. Finallie she was so ouercome wyth sorowe, that she couered her head, turninge her selfe from her nece and nephew that sate at her fete, and abstayning both from meate and from beholdinge of the light, ended hir life the fift day after she was determined to dye. This her death was a greate argument of the clemencie Alexander had shewed towards her, and of the iustice towards all the captiues: seying that after Darius death she coulde abide to liue, but after Alexanders Departure, she was ashamed to continue any lenger.

Considering Alexander rightwillsye, we must impute all hys vertues to hys owne nature, and hys vices either to hys youth, or to the greatenes of hys fortune. There was in hym an incredible force of courage, and an excedyng sufferance of trauayle. He was endued wyth manhode: excellinge, not onely emonges kinges, but also emonges such as had no other vertue nor qualitie. He was of such liberalitie, that oftentymes he gaue greater thiges, the þ receivers could haue wished for of God. The multitude of kingedomes þ he gaue in gift, & restozed to such scō whome he had taken them by force, was a tokē of his clemēcy towards the þ he subdued. He shewed a perpetuall cōtempte of death, & feare wherof both amase other men. And as there was in him a greater desire of glozy & worldely praise the reason would beare: so was it tolerable in so youg a man enterprising so great & notable actes. The reuerēce & affection he bare towards his parētes appeared in þ purpose he had to cōsecrate his mother Olimpias to immortal tye, & in þ he so soze reuēged Philips death. How gentle and familiar was he towards hys frendes, and how

A discourse of
Alexanders
vices and his
vertues.

beneuolent towarde his souldiours: He had a wylle dome equall to the greatnes of his harte, and suche a policy and forecast, as so young yeares were scarfly able to receiue. A measure he had in immoderate pleasures, and lusted lesse then nature desired, blyng no pleasure, but that was lawfull: these were wonderfull greate gites and vertues.

Bu in that he compared him selfe to the Goddes, couetyng diuine honours, and beleued þe Oracles that perswaded such thinges: that he was offended with the þe woulde not worshop him, and geuen moze beheimentlye to wrath then was expedient: That he altered hys habite and apparaile into þe fashion of straungers, & counterfaited the custome of them he had subdued, and despised befoze his victoꝝ: these were vices to be attributed to þe greatnes of fortune. As the heat of youthe stirred him to anger, and to the desire of drynkyng: so age might haue mittigated againe those faultes. Notwithstandynge it must needes bee confessed, that though he preuailed muche by his vertue, yet ought he to impute moze vnto hys fortune, which onely of all mortall men he had in his owne power. How ofte did she deliuer him from the poynte of death: Howe often dyd she defende hym wyth perpetuall felicitie, when he had rashelye brought him selfe in peryll: And when she poynted an ende to hys gloꝝy, she euen then was contente to finysh his life: stayng hys fatall destenye, tyll he had subdued the Orient, visited the Ocean Sea, and fulfilled all that mans mortalitie was able to perfourme. To to this so greate a kynge, and so noble a conquerour, a succellour was looked for. But the matter was of ouer great importaunce for any one man to take vpon hym: Alexanders name and renowne was so great amonges

amonges all nations: and they were counted moſte noble, & might be partakers (though it were neuer ſo lytle) of hys prosperous fortune.

But to returne agayne to Babilon, from whence this digreſſion hath bene made: They whiche had the guard & cuſtodie of Alexanders perſon, called into the court ſuche as had bene his chiefe frendes & capitaines of the men of warre: after who there followed a greates multitude of ſouldiours, deſirynge to knowe who ſhoulde bee ſucceſſour vnto Alexander. The thronge of the ſouldiours was ſuche, that manye of the captaynes were excluded, and coulde not enter into the courte. A proclamation therfore was made, whereby all men were forbidden to enter, excepte ſuche as were called by name. But becauſe their commaundement ſemed to want auctoritie, it was litle regarded: & the multitude at the firſt began to make a greuous ſorrowe and lamentation. But immediatly the deſire they had to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of the matter, ſtopped their lamentaciō and made ſilence. Then Perdicas brought fourth in ſight of all the people, the kynges chayre of eſtate, wherein Alexanders diademe, hys beſtures regall, and hys armour was layed: amonges the whiche ornaments, Perdicas alſo layed downe the kynges ſignet, deliuered to hym the day befoze: at the ſyght wherof they began to weepe, and to renewe agayne their ſorrow. The ſaid Perdicas: Lo here is the ring wherewith he was wont to ſeale ſuch thinges, as pertained to the gouernemēt of hys Empire, which as he deliuered to me, ſo reſtore it agayne to you. And although no aduerſitie can bee deuylſed by the Goddes (were they neuer ſo muche offended) comparable to thys: Yet conſidering the greatnes of the actes which he hath done, we

The aſſembly after the death of Alexander

Perdicas ſpokes.

musste thinke that as the Goddes sent such a man so to reigne in the worlde (his time beyng expired that was appointed) they haue called him again to the place fro whence he came. Forasmuche therfore as none other thing remaineth of him emonges vs, but onely þ which is alwayes wont to be remoued from immortallitie: let vs perfourme the due, pertaining bothe to hys body, & to hys name: remembryng in what cite we be, emonges what kynde of people, and what a kyng, and gouernour we haue loste. We musste debate and deuise howe to mayntayne our conquest emonges them of whome it is gotten: for the doing wherof, it is nedefull for vs to haue an heade. But whether the same shall be one, or manye, it dothe consist in you. You are not ignorant that a multitude of men of warre wythout an heade, is a body wythout life. Sixe monethes bee nowe passed, synce Roxane was conceived wyth chyld: we desire of God that she maye brynge fourth a sonne, which maye enioye thys kyngdome, when he cometh to age. In the meane season appoynte you, of whom ye wyl be gouerned. When Perdicas had spoken these wordes, Nearchus rose vp, and saied: There is no mā can denie, but that it were meete for Alexanders succession to cōtinue in the bloude royall: but to loke for a kyng that is not yet borne, and to passe ouer onethat is in hys beyng already, is neither expedient for such men as the Macedons be, nor yet dothe serue the necessitie of the tyme. There is a sonne whiche Alexander begote by Barsynes: what should let, why the Diademe may not be set on hys head. Nearchus tale was acceptable to no mā. Therfore þ souldiers accordynge to theyr custome clashed their speares agaynst the tergets, & cōtinued makinge of a noyse. And when he woulde not forlake hys opti-

Nearchus
sdes.

islines.

opinion, but obstinately maintained the same, the matter had almost bredde a sedition: which thing perceiued by Ptholomeus, he spake after this maner.

Ptholomeus
wordes.

Neither the sonne of Roxane nor Barsines, is an issue mete to reigne ouer the Macedons: whose names we should be ashamed to mencion wythin Europe, theyr mothers being captiues. Haue we subdued the Persians to pendre, to become subiect to suche as be descended of the. That was þ thinge which Darius & Xerxes, being kynges of Persie wrought for in vaine, with so manye millions of me of warre, & with so many naues. Thys therfore is my oppynion, that Alexanders Chayer of estate be set in the middes of the court, and that all suche as were wont to be of counsaile wyth him, shall assemble together, so often as any matter requireth to be consulted vpon: And that þ capitaines & rulers of þ armye shalbe obedient to that order, wherunto the greater number do assēt. There were some agreed wyth Ptholomeus: but fewe wyth Perdicas. Then Aristonius spake in this wise: When Alexander was demaūded, to whome he would leaue hys kyngdome, he willed the worthiest to be chosen. Whō iudged he worthiest but Perdicas, to whome he deliuered hys rynger. This was not doone at suche time as he was alone: but when all his frendes were present, he did caste his eyes emōges thē, & at lēgth chāse out one, to whome he deliuered it. For this cause I thinke it right, þ the kingdome be cōmitted vnto Perdicas. Many agreed to his opiniō: so þ the assēbly cried to Perdicas, that he shoulde come fourth emonges thē, and take vp the kynges signet. But he staycd betwene ambition and shanfastnes, thynkyng the more modestye he vled in gettinge the thynge, whych he coueted, they woulde be so muche the more earnest to profer

Aristonius
wordes.

it hym. When he had stande a good while at a staye,
doubtyng what to do, at length he drew backe, and
stode behynde them which late nexte vnto hym.

Deleagers
wordes.

When Deleager that was one of the capytaynes
salwe & stay that Perdicas made, he toke courage vpon
his feblenes & saied: Neither & Goddes will permit, nor
men will suffer, that Alexanders estate, and the weight
of so great an Empire shoulde rest vpon his shoulders:
I will not rehearse how there bee many men moze no-
ble the he is, and of greater worthines, without whose
consent no such thing may be suffered to be doone. There
is no difference whether ye make Perdicas kynge, or
the sonne of Roxane, whensoever he shalbe bozne. Se-
ynge Perdicas goeth aboute to make him selfe kynge,
vnder pretence to bee gouernour to the Infant: That
is the cause why no kynge can please him, but suche one
as is not yet bozne. And in suche an haste as all we
make to haue a kynge (which haste is bothe meete and
necessary for the preservation of our estate) he onely
doth wayte for the expyringe of tymes, and monethes:
imagynynge that he shoulde brynge fourth a man
chylde, whiche I thinke ye doubt not but he is readye
to counterfayte and exchaunge, if neede be. If it were
so in very deede, that Alexander had appointed him to be
our king: I am of opinion that the same thing onely (of
all the thynges he hath commaunded) ought not to be
perfourmed and kepte. Why do not you runne ther-
fore to spoyle the treasure, seynge that the people ought
to enherite it? When he had spoken those wordes he
brake through the prease of the armed men: and they
whiche gaue hym waye, followed hym to the spoyle,
wherof he had made mencion.

The gredines of & treasure caused a great band of ar-
med

med men to flocke about Meleager, and the assemblie began to fall to discorde & sedition: whiche had growe to greater incōueniēce, if a meane souldiour (whome very few did know) had not stepped fourth, and spoken to the multitude. What nede we (quod he) to fall to force or ciuill warre, seeing we haue a king already, whiche you seeke to finde: The same is Arideus Philippes sonne, brother to Alexander that latelie was our kyng, borne and brought vp in the same religion and ceremonies that we doe vse: who being the onely heyre, I maruaile by what deserting of his, he is ouerslypped, or what he hath done, why he should not enioy his right, descended vnto him by the vniuersall lawe of the worlde: If you seeke one to be comparable to Alexander, you shall neuer fynde hym. If you will haue suche one as shall approach next vnto him, this is onely he. When these wordes were heard emonges the multitude, they kept silence at the fyrst, as if they had bene commaunded by auctoritie: but afterwardes they cryed with one voyce, that Arideus should be called, and that they were worthy death, whiche made anye assemblie without hym. Then Pythion all besprenkled with teares, beganne to speake. Nowe I perceiue (quod he) Alexanders case to be most miserable, seeing he is defrauded of the fruite, which such as were his souldiours and subiects should bring fourth at such a tyme as thys is. For you hauing respect onely to the name and memozy of your kyng, be vtterly blynde in the rest of thinges. Hys wordes tended directly to the reprouse of Arideus, that was elected king. But the tale procured moze hatred to the speaker, then contempt to him agaynst whome they were ment. For the compassion they had of Arideus, caused them more to fauour his cause: & therfore declared by an ob-

The wordes
of a souldiour
in the assem-
blye.
Arideus.

Pythions
wordes.

inate

Arideus was
chosen king.

inate crye, that they woulde not suffer any foreigne o-
uer them, but him onely which was bozne to that possi-
bilitie: a still called for Arideus to come fourth emōges
them. Wherupon Meleager (for the malice and enuy he
bare vnto Perdicas) tooke an occasion boldly to bryng
him into the assembly, whome the multitude saluted as
king, and called him Philip. This was the voyce of the
people: but the nobilitie was of another minde, of whome
Pithon tooke vpon hym to put Perdicas deuisie in exe-
cution, and appointed Perdicas and Leonatus (desce-
ded of the bloude royall) to be gouernours of the sonne,
which should be bozne of Roxane: addyng moreouer, the
Craterus and Antipater shoulde haue the rule within
Europe: And vpon thys, they sware the souldiours to
be obedient to Alexanders issue.

Meleager then doubting (not without cause) that
some euill myght come to hym, departed with suche as
were of his faction: but he returned immediatly againe,
brynging Philip with him into the court, & cryed out to
the multitude for the assisting of the common wealth, in
ayding of the new kyng, whome a litle before they had
elected: and willed them to make an experiment of his
actiuitie, persuadyng that he was the meetest to rule
ouer them, beyng the issue of Philip, that had both a
kyng to his father, and a kyng to hys brother. There
is no profound Sea so stormy nor tempestuous, that
rayseth vp so many surges and waues, as a multitude
doth motions and alterations, when they haue gotten
the bydle of a new libertie, not likelie long to continue.
There wanted not some that gaue theyr consente to
Perdicas: but more agreed to make Philip king. They
could neither agree nor disagree to any thing long time
together: One whyle repenting them of that they had
Deter-

determined, and streight waies forthought the of that repetaunce. Yet finally, they were enclined to preferre the kinges blood. Arideus was put in suche feare with the aucthoritie of the nobilitie, that he departed out of the assemblie: after whose departure, the fauour of the souldiours was rather silent, then decayed towarde hym: So that at length he was called againe, and hys brothers vesture regall, whiche laye in the chayre, put vpon him. And Meleager put on hys armour, following as a defence to the person of the newe king. The souldiours of the foote bande clashed theyr speares to theyr targets, threatening to shedde theyr bloude, which would couet the kingdome that pertained not to them. They reioysed that the force of the Emperre shoulde not be disperkled, but still continue in the same familie: the right of whose enheritaunce, commynge of the bloude royall, they shewed them selues readye alwayes to defende. For by reason they were accustomed to haue the name of theyr kyng in suche honour and in veneration, they thought no man worthy for it, but such one as came thertunto by discent of bloude. Perdicas therfore was stayed, and with .vi. hundred men that were of an approued manhode, tooke vpon hym to defende the place, wheras the body of Alexander lay. Ptolomeus ioyned him selfe vnto him also, and the band of the young gentlemen that were about the kinges person. But so manye thousandes of armed men as were vpon the other side did easely breake in vpon them: Amonges whome the king was present with a great band for the garde about his person: wherof Meleager was chiefe. Perdicas therfore in a great furie, called suche to hys part as would defend Alexanders body: but many of the were soze hurt with Dartes that were throwen from the contrary.

Embassadors
were sent a-
bout a recon-
ciliation.

trary syde. At the last the auncient men plucked of theyr head peeces (the better to be knowen) and despyred them which were with Perdicas to abstaine fro ciuil warre, and geue place to the king, & to the greater part. Whereupon Perdicas was the first that laied downe hys weapon, and the rest dyd in lyke maner. Meleager then perswaded the that they should not depart, but remayne styll about the dead corpes: but he iudgyng that to be a deceyte, and a meane to entrappe hym, fled to a place on the further syde of Euphrates, lying ouer agaynst the court. Then the horsemen, which consisted chiefly of the nobilitie, flocked about Perdicas, & Leonatus, whose opinion was to depart out of the citie, & take the fieldes: but because Perdicas was not without hoape, that the footemen would haue taken his part, he remayned still within the citie, lest he myght seeme to be the cause that the horsemen should diuylde them selues from the rest of the armye. Meleager celled not to beate in the kynges head, that he could not establishe him selfe surely in hys estate, otherwoyle then by the death of Perdicas, whose ambitious mynd, desirous of innouatio, was (he saied) to be preuented in tyme. He willed the kyng to remembre what Perdicas had deserued at hys handes, & that no man coulde be saythfull to him, whome he feared. The king suffring the thing, rather then geuing his consent to the matter, Meleager toke his silence for a comaundement, and sent for Perdicas in the kynges name: and they whiche were sent, had commission to kill him, if he made any sticking to come with the. Perdicas hearing of their coming, accompanied onely w. xvi. young getle-
me (accustomed to attēd bpō Alexanders persō) met the as they wold haue entered into his lodging, & calling the Meleagers slaues, rebuked them w. such a cōstācy, both
of

of mind and countenaunce, that they returned backe againe as men amased. Perdicas willed such as were in his companie to leape on horse backe: & with a fewe of his frendes repaired vnto Leonatus, mynding if anye violence were moued agaynst him, to repulse it with a greater force. The next day the Macedons grudged, & thought it a matter vsitting, that Perdicas shoulde be brought in daunger of death after such a sort: and therefore determyned with force to reuenge the rashenes of Meleagers doinges.

But he vnderstāding of the mutinie & was emonges the souldiours, gaue place: & they repayred vnto & king, demaunding of him if he had cōmaunded Perdicas to be takē. He confessed & thing: but it was done (he sayed) by Meleagers motiō, which he declared to be no cause for them to make any sturre, seeing that Perdicas was alpye. The assembly herupon brake vp, and Meleager became greatly afrayed, specially so astonied by the parting of the horsemen, that he wist not what to do: for he sawe the mischiefe (which he a litle before had wrought agaynst hys enemye) like to light vpon hym selfe. And whyles he deuised thys and that, thre dayes were consumed and spent. The wonted fourme and fashio of the court dyd remayne in the meane season. For the embassadours of diuers nations made repaire vnto the king: the capitaines of the armye dyd assemble about him, & the guard wayted in armour as they were accustomed. But & great sadnes that was there without any apparent cause, signified some extreme dispaire. There was such a suspition emonges them selues, & men durst not company togethers, nor speake one to another, but stode ymagining secretly with thē selues: & by comparing the time p̄sēt with the time past, & the newe king with the olde,

olde, they beganne to desyre him that was gone. Then one enquired of another, where he was become, whose fortune and auctoritie they had folowed: Then they found themselves abandoned, emonges so many wyld nations, whiche were desyrous vpon any occasion that myght fall, to be reuenged of the iniuries they had receyued. Whyles they were troubled in these ymaginations, worde was brought that the horsemen (whiche were vnder Berdicas) kept the fieldes about Babilon, and stayed all victuals, commyng to the cite. Whereupon fyrst beganne a scarcitie, and afterwarde a famine. Therfore suche as were within the cite, thought good, either to make a reconciliation with Berdicas, or els to fight out þe matter. It chaused that such as dwelled abroade in the countrey, fearyng the spoyle of þe villages, repayed into the cite. And they within the cite for lacke of victuals, departed into the countrey: So that euery one thought them selues surer anye where, then in theyr owne habitations. Then the Macedons doubting some great inconuenience that might come of this feare, assembled together in the court, and shewed fourth theyr opinions. It was agreed emonges them, that embassadours should be sent to the horsemen, for þe surcessing of all stryfe & diuision. Basus a Thessalian, Amissas a Megapolitan, and Perelaus were sent fro the king: who declaring theyr commission, receiued answer, that the horsemen would not seuer theyr power, tyll the auctours of the seditiō were deliuered into their handes. When they were returned, and theyr answer known, the souldiours without any appointment, put on theyr armour, and made such a tumult, that the king was enforced to come fourth of the court, and sayed vnto them: If we shalbe at stryfe emonges our selues, our ene-

enemies þ be quiet, shall enioy the fruit of our contenti-
on. Remēbze that the quarell is with your owne cōūtreymen,
with whome if ye rashely bzeake þ hoape of recon-
cilemēt, ye shalbe the beginners of a ciuil warre: Let vs
proue if the matter may be mitigated by an other Em-
bassat. I am of opinion, that forasmuch as Alexāders
body remaineth yet vnburied, they will gladly come to-
gether, to persourne the due vnto the dead. And for my
part, I had rather surrender by agayne thys dignitie,
then any bloud should be shed amonges my cōūtreymē.
For if no other hoape of concord doe remayne, I desyre
and pray you so to do, as the better choyse of both. And
with that word he wept, and pulled the diademe from
his head, holding the same fourth with his hand, ready
to haue deliuered it to any man þ woulde haue claymed
to be moze worthye then he. The moderation þ he vled
both in his wordes, & his behauour, caused them all to
conceiue a great good hoape of his noble nature, which
(till that time) was obscured with the greatnes of his
brothers fame. They therfore required and encouraged
him to go forwarde in the matter, as he had deuysed.
Wherupon he sent agayne for Embassadours the same
men þ went before: whiche had commission to require, þ
Meleager might be the thirde ruler of the men of warre.
That matter was not muche sticket at: for Perdicas
was desirous to remoue Meleager from the king, and
thought þ he alone shoulde not be hable to matche with
Leonatus & him. Upon this Meleager marched out of
þ citie with þ sotemen: & Perdicas met him in þ fieldes,
riding before the bandes of the horsmen. There bothe
battailes saluting one another, cōcord, peace, & amitie,
was cōfirmed betwixt thē for euer (as it was thought:)
But it was decreed by destiny that ciuil warres should
rple

A digression
to the prayse
of the peron
that was in
the auctours
tyme.

Perdicas de-
uiseth & death
of Meleager.

rise emonges the Macedons. For gouernement is vn-
patient of partners: and the kingdome was coueted by
many: Which as it first grew in force, so after wardes it
was dysperled againe. For when the body was burde-
ned with moe heades then it could beare, the other mem-
bres beganne to fayle. So the empyre of the Macedons,
which vnder one head might well haue stande, when it
was diuided in partes, fell to ruine. For that cause the
people of Rome iustlye must confesse themselves bound
vnto theyr prince, for y^e felicitie they haue found: Which
as a starre in the night appeared vnto them, that were
neare lost: And as the sunne, gaue light to the world be-
ing in darkenes, when without suche a head the mem-
bres that were at variaunce, must needes haue quay-
led: How many fyre brandes dyd he quenche: how ma-
ny swordes ready drawen did he put vp agayne: How
great a tempest dyd he pacifie with the sodayne cauline
of his presence: The Empyre now therfore doth waxe
grene and flourishing: Let me desyre without enuy, that
his house may continue many ages, and hys posteritie
remaine for euermore. But to retorne agayne to the or-
dre of history, from whence I was brought through the
contemplation of our vniuersall felicitie: Perdicas iud-
ged the onely hoape of his owne saueguard, to consist
in the death of Meleager: thinkyng it necessary to pre-
uent him being a man both variable, vnfaithfull, geue
to innouation, & besides, his moztall enemye. But with
deepe dissimulation he kept his purpose secret, to thynke
that with lesse difficultie, he myght oppresse hym vnbe-
wares. He did subornate therfore priuely certaine of the
bandes vnder his rule, to complaine openly (as though
it were without his knowlege) that Meleager shoulde
be made equall with him in auctoritie: whiche wordes
of the

of the souldiers, when they were reported vnto Meleager, became in a great rage, & declared their saynges to Perdicas. He seemed to wonder at the matter, blaminge their doinge, as though he had bene soꝝ for the thyng: and finally they agreed that the aucthoꝝ of such sedicious wordes shoulde bee taken. When Meleager perceyued Perdicas so confoꝝmable, he embraced hym, and gaue him thankees foꝝ his fidelitie & beneuolence. Therby a consultacion had betwixte theym both, they deuysed howe to destroy such as wꝝought this diuision betwixt them. Foꝝ the bzinginge of that to passe they agreed, that thar my shoulde be purged, according to their countrey custome. To þ doynge wherof, they feared to haue a sufficient occasion, by reason of the late discoꝝde emonges them. The kynges of Macedon in purifynge of theyꝝ souldiers, were wont to vse a kynde of ceremony, diuidinge the bowels of a dogge in two partes, and to caste the same in the vttermoste boundes of the field, wheron they purposed to muster the army.

A ceremonie
that was vsed
in the purifynge
of thar my after
any offence
made.

There the men of warre accustome to stand armed: both the hoꝝemen, the mercenary souldiers, & the Phalang, euerye one a parte. The same daye that this ceremonye was put in execution, the king stode in oꝝder of battail with the hoꝝemen and the Elephātes against the foꝝe, of whome Meleager had the rule. When þ troupes of hoꝝemen began to moue, the footemen were stryken sodainly wꝝth feare: and by reason of the late discoꝝde, conceyued a suspicion that the hoꝝemen mente them no good. Wherfoꝝe they stode a while in a doubt, whether they shoulde retire into the citite oꝝ no, by reason that the fieldes serued best foꝝ the hoꝝemen. But lest without cause they mighte condemne the fidelitie of theyꝝ coꝝpanions, they stode still with a determinate minde

to fyght, if any profered them violence. When the batailles were almost met together, onely a smale distance leste betwixt them (whereby the one parte was diuided from the other) the kynge by the prouocacyon of Berdicas, wyth a bande of hoysmen dyd ryde a longe the fotemen, requyringe the deliury of suche to be executed, as were the aucthoys of the disorde: whome in very dede, though he ought to haue defended: yet if they refused theyr deliury, he threated to bynge agaynst them, both the hoysmen and the Elephantes. The fotemen were amaled with the sodeinnes of the mischyeffe, whyche they loked not for: and there was no more counsell nor courage in Meleager, the in the rest: but they all iudged it moste expedient for them, rather to abyde the aduenture of that request, then further to to hasard fortune. When Berdicas sawe them astonyed and in feare, he leuered out to the numbze of three hundred of suche as followed Meleager, whē he brake out of the assemblie, that was firste made after Alexanders death: whiche in the yght of all the armye were cast to the Elephantes, & there trampled to death with the feete, of which matter Philip was neyther the aucthoys, nor yet forbidder: but thought to claime that for his owne doyng, whiche should appeare best in the ende.

Thys was a significatyon and a begynnynge vnto the Macedons of ciuill warres that ensued. Meleager vnderstandynge ouerlate the sleight of that deuise, because there was no violence offred vnto hys person, stood at the firste quietly wythin y square: but shortly after, when he sawe hys enemyes abusynge to hys destruction the name of him whome he had made kyng, he despayred of hys owne safeguarde, and fled into a temple. But the religion of the place coulde not so defend hym,

hym, but that he was there slayne. Perdicas hereupon brought agayne the army into the citie: & calling a counsaile of all the principall personages, it was agreed so to deuide the Empire, that the kynge shoulde remayne as chiefe of the whole: Ptholomeus to be lieutenante in Egypt and Aphyrike, and to haue the rule of the nacions there, that were vnder the Macedons domynion. Syria and Phoenices were appoynted to Laomedon. Cilicia to Philotas. Licia wyth Panphilia, and the greater Phrygia, were assigned to Antigonus. Cassander was sent into Caria, and Menander into Lydia. The lesser Phrygia that ioyned vnto Hellesponte, was Leonatus prouynce. Eumenes had Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, who was commaunded to defende that countrey so farre as Trapezut, and make warre to Ariaraches, whych onely remayned enemy to the Empire. Media was appoynted to Pythion, and Thrace to Lysimachus wyth other nacions therabout borderynge vpon the sea of Ponto. It was ordeyned also that suche as shoulde bee presidentes amonges the Indias, Bactrians, Sogdians, and other nacions lyinge vpon the Ocean, & redde seas, shoulde in matter of iustice vse regall iurisdiction. It was decreed by Perdicas shoulde remayne with the kinge, and haue the gouernance of the men of warre that followed hym.

Some beleue that these prouinces were distributed by Alexanders testamente: but we haue founde the same to bee false, though some aucthour do witnes the same. The Empire beinge diuided into partes, eueryone myght well haue defended his porcion, if any boundes coulde conteyne mens immoderate desires: Or if they (beynge but ministers vnto a kynge, when vnder the coloure of the administration of an others domynion

Ariaraches

H. ii.

they

they had encroched in to so great kyngdomes) couldse haue auoyded the occasions of warre seinge they were all of one nacion, & had their countreies appointed out by limites. Bu it is hard for men to be contented with þe they haue in possession, when occasion is profered them of more. For the first thinges alwayes appere of no baulure, when men be in hoape of greater thinges to come: So that euery one of the thought it an easier matter to encrease hys kyngdome, then it was to gette it at the first. Alexanders body in the meane season laye seuen dayes vnburiel: for whiles euery man had care vpon the establishing of the state, their mindes were drawen from the doyng of that solemne office.

There is no Countreie more feruente of heate, then Mesopotamia. For the Sunne there burneth so hoate, that it killeth the beastes that be without couert, and burneth vp all thynges as it were with fire.

And to the encrease therof, there be fewe springes of water: & the inhabiteurs vse suche policie in hydyng of those they haue, that straungers can haue no vse of the. Thys notwithstandinge, when Alexanders frendes had gotten leysure to take care of the dead corpes, and came to visite the same, they founde it wythout infection, corruption, or chaunge of coloure: the same cheerefulnes whiche consisteth of the spirite, not beyng yet departed out of hys countenaunce. Then the Egipcians and the Caldeis were commaunded to dresse hys bodye after their maner: who at the fyrste (as though he had bene aliue) had a feare to put theyr handes to hym. But afterwardes makynge theyr prayers that it might be lawfull for mortall men to touche hym, they purged hys body, and filled it wyth swete odours: And afterwardes layed him vpon a hearse of golde, and set
a di-

a diademe vpon his head. Many thought that he dyed of poyson, and that Jolla Antipaters sonne being one of his ministers, had geue hym the same. Alexander oftē times would say, that Antipater coueted the estate of a king, affecting more greatnes, thē pertained to a lieutenant, & that through glozy of the victoꝝ he had gotten of the Lacedemonians, was become so pꝛoude, that he claimed all thinges cōmitted vnto him as his owne. It is thought also that Craterus was sent to kyl hym, with those olde souldiours that were dimitted. It is certaine y^e there is a poyson in Macedon found in a water called Sulistiges, of suche force, that it consumeth y^eo, Sulistiges. & will not be conteyned in any thyng, sauing in y^e hoauē of an hoꝛse oꝝ mule: which poyson was bꝛought by Cassander, and deliuered to his bꝛother Jolla, whiche presented it in the dꝛinke that the king last dꝛonke. Howsoeuer these thynges bee reported, the powꝛ of them, of whome the rumour went, shortly after oppꝛessed the infamy. For Antipater became king both of Macedon & of Greece, and his childꝛē after him: which put to death all such as were any thing neare of kinne vnto Alexander. Ptolomeus (which had the rule of Egypt) conueyed Alexander's body to Memphis, which within few yꝛes after was remoued to Alexandria, wheras all honour is geuen to the memoꝝ of hym, and to his name.

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